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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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USSR REPORT

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

ZAGLADIN ON COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, COHESION

AU040701 Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 2, Feb 86 (signed to press 30 Jan 86) pp 17-33

[Article by Professor V.V. Zagladin, doctor of philosophical sciences: "CPSU and the Communist Movement"--passages between slantlines published in bold-face, passages between double slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The history of mankind knows of thousands, if not tens of thousands, of ideological and political movements, parties, and organizations. As a rule, each and every one of them has belonged to a particular epoch or, to be more precise, to a particular time. Social and political conditions have changed and certain trends and organizations have been replaced by others. Few of them have left a more or less marked trace in the chronicle of mankind. And to an even lesser extent have any of them been able to number among their achievements the implementation of fundamental social transformations and essential changes in the very course of social development.

The only exception to this general rule up until now has been the communist movement. On a historical scale it is, of course relatively young, being less than 1 and 1/2 centuries old. However, in that time the communists have made an enormous and unique contribution to the cause of social progress.

It stands to reason that the main point is that the communist movement has not only given adequate expression in its theory to the objective, historically law-governed need for social reconstruction of the world, but has also led this construction in practice, thus becoming an effective instrument of social progress. In 1917 a socialist revolution triumphed in Russia under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party, a party of a new type. From that moment mankind's shift from capitalism to socialism began.

It is clear that this shift is progressing unevenly: after all, its implementation is occurring in line with the growth of the deep contradictions of the capitalist system and in line with the ripening of the objective and subjective preconditions for socialism and for socialist revolution. And these processes are being implemented in different ways in different countries. On the other hand, the movement of social progress is always the result of an acute class struggle, which also occurs unevenly, in different forms and at different rates. In short, revolutions are a product of complex

historical development. But wherever the struggle for socialism takes place, communists are at its head. In any conditions and under any circumstances they strive for the forward advance of the forces of labor along the road leading to their real and genuine social and national liberation.

It is known that a considerable amount of discussion and argument takes place around the problems of the communist movement. This takes place both within the communist parties themselves and outside them. But if one is to pick out the main point of these arguments, one can perhaps say that they deal with two basic questions. The first question is: What is the communists' place in the life of contemporary mankind? The second is: What is their role in solving the problems which worry the peoples of the entire planet today, in the mid-eighties of the 20th century?

The opponents of communism assert that the communist movement is losing (or has already lost) its former role and is experiencing a crisis, if not a decline. More than a decade ago U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT stated that the movement was facing "collapse." (Footnote 1) (See: U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 9 August 1976) The U.S. President asserts that the "final pages" of its history have already been written. (Footnote 2) (See: SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 18 May 1981) The FINANCIAL TIMES supposes that if in fact communist parties are fated to exist anywhere, then only in countries which are lagging in socioeconomic development. (Footnote 3) (See: FINANCIAL TIMES, 7 July 1985)

It is, however, characteristic that viewpoints completely different from those cited above can be traced in certain publications by Western research centers. In many cases their authors are forced to state that communist parties continue to exist everywhere that they have appeared, that the number of their members in the world continues to grow, and that they maintain active ties with one another and conduct a struggle for common goals. (Footnote 4) (See for example: PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, March-April 1985)

The so-called "internal assessments" of communists' activity which filter into the pages of the press and which are formulated by various official organs of Western countries contain the admission that, despite existing difficulties, the communists have not as a whole lost their influence, and that on the contrary they play a very important role. The opponents of communism are particularly worried by three circumstances. The first is that communists firmly hold the banner of peace in their hands, the banner of struggle against the threat of war which has been created by the actions of imperialism. The second is that the communist movement has drawn closer to, and continues to draw closer to, the influential political forces born in the fire of national liberation revolutions. The third is that despite all attempts by forces hostile to Marxism-Leninism, they are not able to undermine the international solidarity of communists or to destroy the ties which exist primarily between the communist parties of socialist countries and those operating in the non-socialist world.

Facts have more than once reached the pages of the world press about consultations which have been held between the corresponding organs of Western countries with the aim of preventing a rise in communists' influence, their recognition by public opinion, and their participation in governments. In certain periods (for instance, in connection with the Italian Communist Party's major election successes in the mid-seventies) plans were discussed for direct intervention in a country's affairs in case the communists should "dare" to head a government. It was said that, in any case, a government led by communists would receive no assistance from other Western countries, and that on the contrary, everything would be done to hinder its activity. (Footnote 5) (See for example: THE GUARDIAN, 12 January 1976)

One of the directives of the U.S. National Security Council stated openly that the corresponding American services regard their task as being to create difficulties for "world communism" and to make use of them, to discredit the international communist movement, to contribute to reducing its influence, to undermine the strength of communist parties and organizations, and to lower the extent of the spread of communist ideology in any regions of the world. (Footnote 6) (See: FOREIGN AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. Book I Washington, 26 April 1976, pp 179-205)

However, the question arises of whether our ideological opponents, and moreover the special services of imperialism, would really devote so much attention to the communists if they were not worth it, and if communism were really living through the "last days" of its existence.

"The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of our age," the draft new edition of the CPSU Program states. (Footnote 7) (CPSU Program--New Edition--Draft. Moscow, 1985, p 17) This evaluation reflects the real state of affairs.

What does the contemporary communist movement look like? It would evidently be expedient to cite certain factual data which characterize its development over recent decades.

By the beginning of the seventies communist and workers parties were operating in 88 countries of the world and their ranks numbered about 50 million people. According to the data, at the beginning of 1985 communists were operating in almost 100 countries of the world. The ranks of the fraternal parties numbered more than 80 million communists. In other words, in 1 and 1/2 decades the number of countries in which communist parties exist has increased by 10 percent, while the number of communists has risen by 60 percent.

It is clear that the majority of communists operate in socialist states, that is, approximately 75 million people. About 5 million operate in the non-socialist world. The data on the movement's development outside the socialist countries is shown below.

The Growth of Communist Parties Outside the Borders of the Socialist System

1969-1970

1984-1985

<u>Region of the World</u>	<u>Number of countries in which communist parties operate.</u>	<u>Numbers in parties (in millions of people).</u>	<u>Number of countries in which communist parties operate.</u>	<u>Numbers in parties (in millions of people).</u>
Asia, Australia, and Oceania	19	0.6	22	1.34
America	25	0.38	25	0.46
Africa	9	0.02	11	0.07
Western Europe	21	2.27	22	3.0
Total	74	3.27	80	4.87

As can be seen, in 15 years the number of communist parties in the non-socialist part of the world rose by more than 1.5 million people. It grew first and foremost due to the large communist parties of Europe and Asia, and partly those of Latin America. At the same time, in the given period some new communist parties arose, too: the Communist Party of Malta (creation announced in February 1970), the Communist Party of Pakistan (founding congress in 1974), the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia (first congress in August 1975), the Workers Party of Jamaica (founding congress in December 1980), the Egyptian Communist Party (first congress in September 1980), the Palestine Communist Party (formed at the beginning of 1982), and the African Independence and Labor Party of Senegal (founding congress in 1981), which was previously considered to be a revolutionary-democratic party but which has now become part of the communist movement.

As has already been said, the communist movement operates in almost 100 countries. But the number of communist parties as a whole is greater than the number of countries in which they exist. This has come about as a result of the fact that India, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Spain, and Costa Rica have two parties each. The reasons for their appearance are different, but what is basically involved is the consequences of a struggle between opinions and of internal disagreements on questions of principle.

It is clear that the appearance of several communist parties in one country cannot be regarded as a normal phenomenon. It is a departure from the needs of the workers movement, a temporary situation. In each of the countries where such a situation has arisen, Marxist-Leninists are in favor of cooperation between all communists for the cause of solving the urgent

problems of the workers and democratic movement, in order to arrive at a future restoration of unified, large communist parties which are fit for action.

In their social composition communist parties are first and foremost parties of the workers class. It stands to reason that, taking trends of socio-political development into account, communists do not close their doors to people from other social strata and groups; on the contrary, they strive to draw the most aware representatives of these into their ranks. But the parties nevertheless devote their main attention to enlarging their organizations from among the workers, including those who have lost their jobs and become unemployed.

In countries of Asia and Africa, and also some states of Latin America, the majority in the communist parties' ranks is made up of peasants and representatives of the urban middle strata. This reflects the social composition of the population in the corresponding regions in a law-governed manner. In recent decades the ranks of Afro-Asian communist parties have been joined by a considerable number of representatives of the intelligentsia and of young people, both students and, increasingly, also workers.

As a whole, though, according to existing data workers comprise over 40 percent of the total numbers in the fraternal parties. Together with employees the proportion of them in the total composition of the communist movement considerably exceeds 50 percent. The remainder is made up of peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia and of urban and rural middle strata, and others. In other words, the contemporary communist movement more or less reflects the social structure of the contemporary world.

It is important that over the last 10 or 15 years the influence of communist parties among women has been rising, including in non-socialist countries. On average, women comprise about 20 percent of the total numbers in fraternal parties outside the borders of the socialist world. This is a considerable number, although not enough. And communist parties everywhere are now paying heightened attention to work among women and also among young people.

In those countries of the non-socialist world where communist parties have an opportunity to participate in elections, 35-40 million voters voted for their candidates in the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties. The communist parties in Italy, Cyprus (the Progressive Party of the Working People), Portugal, Japan, Finland, France, and Greece have the most solid positions in this respect. Certain parties in the countries of Latin America have strengthened their position: Many of them are represented at elections to the legislative organs of their states.

Of course, it would be wrong to judge the influence of communist parties only by their election results. The actual role of communists in the life of many countries is considerably greater than the proportion of ballot-papers in favor of their candidates. Thus, in many cases communists cooperate effectively with trade unions (in France, Italy, Portugal, India, and other

countries). Neither can the work of communists in other democratic organizations and movements be underestimated.

The life of communists and workers parties is an intense and active one. Over the last 15 years, for example, almost 70 parties of non-socialist countries have held their congresses and conferences (about 240 in all). The highest forums of the communists of all the countries of socialism have gathered two or three times each. About 50 communist parties have adopted new, or refined old, program documents.

Contacts between the fraternal parties of various countries continue to develop actively. In the period of the seventies and the start of the eighties (until mid-1985 inclusive) almost 130 regional meetings and conferences on political questions between communist parties of various regions of the world were held, as were over 140 meetings and symposiums at which theoretical problems were discussed.

All that has been said up to now concerns the characteristics of the communist movement and its internal life. But the social role of this or that political movement is judged not so much by its general characteristics as by its activity, and of course primarily by the results of its work. And the results of the communists' activity are highly impressive.

The main result is the creation and further development of the socialist system. Wherever socialism has been or is being constructed, many fundamental problems which have worried mankind from time immemorial have been solved in practice in a short time and in the most difficult conditions. "The Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society has been checked in practice on an international scale; socialism has asserted itself on huge expanses of the earth; its indisputable advantages have been patently confirmed by the example of a whole group of countries; and hundreds of millions of people are on the road to creating socialist civilization. More and more people are withdrawing their confidence in capitalism, are not wishing to associate their prospects of development with it, and are persistently turning toward such a type of social organization, such social relations as have already formed in socialist countries," the draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes. (Footnote 8) (Ibid., p 11)

In the non-socialist world communists now act as the organizers of active resistance to the actions that imperialism directs against the people and to the attack made by monopolist capital on the masses' standard of living, and act as the initiators of the struggle to overcome the consequences of the economic crisis for the working population. In liberated states these general tasks are supplemented by such tasks as the struggle to strengthen these states' political and economic independence, and the struggle against attempts by imperialism, primarily American to consolidate and perpetuate its oppression, and to continue to pump the wealth of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America into its bottomless safes.

And, of course, it is impossible not to mention the particularly outstanding and constantly growing role of communists in the struggle to strengthen peace. This will be dealt with in greater detail below.

/"The vanguard of the working class movement, of all the forces of the world revolutionary process is the international communist movement,"/ the draft new edition of the CPSU Program states. (Footnote 9) (Ibid., p 17) The communists have won this, their role in the world, through decades of stubborn and persistent struggle, through their selflessness, and through their faithfulness to the great revolutionary ideals.

From the moment of its birth, the CPSU always regarded itself as one of the detachments of the world revolutionary workers movement and took an active part in its activity and struggle. "The movement of the Russian workers class is by its nature and goals a part of the international (social-democratic) movement of the workers class of all countries," V.I. Lenin wrote as long ago as 1895 in the "Draft and Explanation of the Social-Democratic Party Program." (Footnote 10) (V.I. Lenin: Complete Collected Works, Vol 2, p 84) And in 1897 in the pamphlet "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats" he postulated the question in this way: "Our task... is to develop in workers an awareness of their solidarity, an awareness of the common interests and common cause of all Russian workers as a united workers class forming part of the world army of the proletariat." (Footnote 11) (Ibid., pp 447-448)

In the "Manifest of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party," which was approved by the party's first congress in 1898, it was emphasized that the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party would conform all its actions to the principles of international social-democracy. The manifesto concluded with the words "Long live Russian and international social democracy." (Footnote 12) (The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Plenums of the Central Committee. Vol 1. Ninth edition, supplemented and corrected. Moscow, 1983, p 17) And our party's first program, which was adopted more than 80 years ago at the Second Congress (1903) stated that: "Considering itself one of the detachments of the world army of the proletariat, Russian social democracy pursues the same final goal as that for which the social-democrats of all other countries are striving." (Footnote 13) (Ibid., p 59) Finally, it is laid down in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program that: "The CPSU is an integral part of the international communist movement." (Footnote 14) (CPSU Program. (New Edition) Draft, p 71)

In determining ways of fulfilling its international duty to its class brothers in other countries, the CPSU proceeds from the Leninist concept of internationalism. And according to V.I. Lenin's idea, to be an internationalist means to do "the maximum that is feasible in the country //for// the development, support, and awakening of revolution //in all countries//." (Footnote 15) (V.I. Lenin: Complete Collected Works, Vol 37, p 304)

This formulation, like all tenets of Marxism-Leninism concerning the content of the theory and policy of proletarian internationalism, states first and

foremost the unity of the national and international duty and of the national and international obligations of communists. This is quite natural.

Each fraternal party operates primarily in its own country. And it is clear that its most important obligation to its people and its workers class is the conduct of a successful revolutionary struggle for social and national liberation, the implementation of a socialist revolution, and the construction of a socialist society which is transformed into a communist society.

At the same time, the solving of this task is also the given party's fulfillment of its international duty and its obligations to the international workers class. And what in fact can be a greater contribution to the common cause of proletarians of all countries than the practical implementation of a socialist transformation of society in one's own country? The achievement of this aim by each national detachment of the workers movement (and no one else but it can do this) would in fact mean a shift to socialism by all mankind, that is, the realization on an international scale of the historical mission of the workers class.

Proceeding from this, V.I. Lenin states that "we exert our main influence on the international revolution by our economic policy." (Footnote 16) (Ibid., Vol 43, p 341) The CPSU follows this Leninist precept steadfastly. As the draft new edition of the party program states, "it regards its activity to refine socialist society and to advance onward to communism as a major internationalist task, the accomplishment of which meets the interests of the world socialist system, the interests of the international working class and of mankind as a whole." (Footnote 17) (CPSU Program--new edition--Draft, p 71)

The CPSU's domestic policy activity meets with the deep understanding and support of the communist movement, which regards it as our party's contribution to the common international cause of all communists. "The citizens of our republic are, with great interest and a sense of deep satisfaction, following the purposeful and creative work to accelerate the Soviet state's socioeconomic development which is being conducted by the communists and all working people of your country as they approach the 27th CPSU Congress," notes the greeting of GDR leaders E. Honecker and W. Stoph to the leaders of our party and country in connection with the 68th anniversary of the October Revolution. (Footnote 18) (PRAVDA, 6 November 1985) "Your successes on this road will raise socialism to a higher level and will make it even more attractive to the exploited masses of all countries of the world," states the message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. (Footnote 19) (PRAVDA, 10 November 1985)

Thus, active revolutionary-transformational activity by a party within its own country is a most important part of its international duty. A most important part, but not the only one. This is because although the national and international interests and the national and international duty of communists are dialectically interconnected or permeate one another, if one can express it thus, they are nevertheless not identical.

The attempts which have been known in the history of the communist movement to mechanically identify the national with the international tasks of one or another detachment of the workers class (or party) have led in practice to the isolation of that movement, to its alienation from other detachments of the workers movement, and even to national interests being placed in opposition to international ones.

On the basis of historical experience it is possible to say that if the fulfillment by some detachment of the communist (workers) movement of its national duty (national task) is isolated, and furthermore is placed in opposition to the interests (tasks) of other detachments of the movement, the international significance of this detachment's activity in its own country is reduced and narrowed, and in certain cases this activity may assume an anti-internationalist and essentially nationalist nature. As a result, damage may be done both to the common cause of communists of all countries, and also--and primarily--to the party which has set out along the road of isolation from its comrades in the struggle. With this in mind, Lenin called for a "struggle //against// petty national narrowness, seclusion, and isolation, and for that which is whole and universal, for the subordination of individual interests to common interests." (Footnote 20) (V.I. Lenin: Complete Collected Works, Vol 30, p 45)

It is in precisely this Leninist manner that the CPSU approaches the given question. As the draft new edition of its program states, it is in favor of "deep understanding of both national and international interests in their organic interconnection." (Footnote 21) (CPSU Program--New edition--Draft, p 63)

What does this mean in practice?

It means that the CPSU closely coordinates its day-to-day work in perfecting socialist society with energetic activity in the international arena, activity which is of a consistently internationalist nature.

In contemporary conditions our party considers that the struggle to solve the most acute problem now facing mankind--the problem of war and peace--has become an exceptionally important part of its international duty. Taking into account the nature of contemporary weapons and the possible consequences of their use, the CPSU proceeds from the idea that preventing war and saving mankind from catastrophe is "the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of our planet." (Footnote 22) (Ibid., p 22)

In contemporary conditions peace is the preliminary condition for progress in any sphere of human activity. In developing the struggle for peace, the CPSU is concerning itself on the one hand with the creation of the best external conditions for the Soviet people's solution of their constructive tasks and, on the other hand, with ensuring the same more favorable conditions for the struggle for social progress in all countries and in all regions of the planet.

The CPSU's energetic activity in the struggle for peace enjoys the unanimous support of fraternal parties in all regions of the world. At their meeting in Prague on 21 November 1985 the highest leaders of the Warsaw Pact member-states highly appraised the extraordinarily important contribution made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to advancing the jointly elaborated peace-loving positions of the countries of the socialist community during his Geneva meeting with U.S. President R. Reagan. (Footnote 23) ("The Soviet-American Meeting at the Highest Level, Geneva, 19-21 November 1985. Documents and Materials." Moscow, 1985, p 44) "Beginning with the Peace Decree, the essence of the policy of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party has been to avert from mankind a new war and, this time, an all-destructive nuclear war, and to achieve a turn for the better in the international affairs, a turn toward disarmament and toward the policy of peaceful coexistence," H. Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, says in his telegram. "We want to express to you... sincere gratitude for your contribution to the preservation of peace." (Footnote 24) (PRAVDA, 8 November 1985)

Steadfastly expanding and deepening cooperation with all socialist countries and, first and foremost, with the countries of the socialist community, represents an organic part of the CPSU's internationalist, international policy. In this connection our party attaches special significance to coordinating the actions on fundamental issues, to comradely interest in the successes of each other, and to the accurate fulfillment of assumed obligations. "The CPSU considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen along with the other fraternal parties the unity and build up the might and influence of the socialist community," the draft new edition of the program states. (Footnote 25) ("Draft New Edition of the CPSU Program," p 63)

The fraternal parties of the countries of socialism especially note in their documents the significance of activities of the CPSU as an important factor of successful development of world socialism as a whole, and the role of cooperation with the USSR in defending and strengthening the positions of socialism in their own countries. "We also want to once again express our gratitude to the Soviet Union for its solidarity with the Cuban people which has made it possible to consolidate the revolutionary achievements of January 1959 and to ensure the socioeconomic transformations that began in our country at that time," Fidel Castro says in his message to the Soviet leaders. "The indissoluble ties that unite us will grow stronger from day to day." (Footnote 26) (PRAVDA, 8 November 1985) "The indissoluble alliance between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR which guarantees our security and independence has once again passed the test of time in an especially difficult period for Poland and the Polish people," Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner note. (Footnote 27) (PRAVDA, 7 November 1985) "On behalf of the Communist Party, the Government, and the people of Vietnam we express the most sincere and profound gratitude to the Communist Party, the Government, and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union for their valuable assistance in the cause of building up and defending our motherland, assistance that is permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism," the leaders of fraternal Vietnam state in their message. (Footnote 28) (PRAVDA, 6 November 1985)

The development of friendly relations with the liberated countries on the basis of equality and the support for the struggle of these countries against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism and against the remnants of colonialism represent another important part of the CPSU's international policy. As the draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes, in our period solidarity with struggling peoples also represents an important part of the struggle for peace and international security.

This aspect of the CPSU's internationalist course in the world arena also enjoys the recognition and profound respect of peoples and, first and foremost, of the countries which are forced to wage difficult battles against imperialist aggression. "The victory of the Bolshevik revolution has inspired and continues to inspire the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, not only through its example but also through the principled solidarity which the party and the people of Lenin show in relation to the 'third world' peoples and their struggle for the right to choose the path of development that corresponds best to their legitimate interests," Nicaragua's leader Daniel Ortega says in his telegram addressed to M.S. Gorbachev. (Footnote 29) (PRAVDA, 11 November 1985) "Today the Soviet Union is justifiably considered by all progressive democratic, and peace-loving forces as the beacon of hope, the fortress of social democracy, and the bulwark of the struggle against imperialism, racism, neocolonialism, and reaction," Ethiopia's leader Haile Mariam Mengistu writes. (Footnote 30) (PRAVDA, 8 November 1985)

And finally, the CPSU's active participation in the activities of the communist movement, its consistent development of relations with the communist and fraternal parties, and its active interaction with them in fundamental issues of the international class struggle naturally represent an inalienable component part of its internationalist course in the world arena. And thus, /in implementing its strategic policy,/ the policy aimed at systematically and comprehensively perfecting socialism and at further advancing Soviet society toward communism on the basis of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, the line of the struggle for peace and social progress, the /CPSU consistently combines its national and international duty./ As the draft CPSU statute (with proposed changes) states, our party "is firmly based on tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and it actively assists in strengthening the cooperation and cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries, and in consolidating the world system of socialism and the unity of the international communist and workers movement, and displays solidarity with peoples struggling for national and social liberation, against imperialism, and for the preservation of peace." (Footnote 31) ("Draft CPSU Statute With Proposed Changes," Moscow, 1985, p 4)

The CPSU's work to develop relations with the communist and workers parties of other countries is constantly expanding and deepening. In 1985 alone the CPSU's delegations held about 100 meetings with delegations of other fraternal countries which were devoted to an exchange of experience and information on topical issues of the world situation and the activities of communists in their countries. The meetings of the leaders of the fraternal parties of the

socialist countries in Moscow (in March 1985), Warsaw (in April 1985), Sofia (in October 1985), and Prague (in November 1985) were especially important. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, held substantive and useful talks with Comrades T. Zhivkov, J. Kadar, Le Duan, E. Honecker, K. Phoumvihan, J. Batmonth, W. Jaruzelski, and G. Husak, with the leading party figures of a number of other socialist countries, as well as with H. Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, A. Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, G. Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, and A. Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

Of course, the activation of the CPSU's ties with the fraternal parties of other countries is prompted, first and foremost, by consideration of the needs of the communist movement itself. However, it is also connected to no lesser degree with the specific characteristics of the present international situation that requires a closer interaction of communists of the world. The strengthening of ties between the fraternal parties in general, including the strengthening of the CPSU's ties with other fraternal parties fully corresponds to the international interests of the international workers class and, yes, of the whole of mankind.

On the other hand, the CPSU never forgets that the development of contacts and ties with the communist movement is also of great principled significance from the viewpoint of ensuring the interests of the Soviet people themselves. We wish to stress this especially.

The historical role of solidarity between the communists of our country and of other countries of the world as an external factor of the successful development of socialist society and of defense of the achievements of socialism manifested itself for the first time as early as the first years after the October Revolution, during the period of civil war and foreign military intervention. As is known, at that time the movement "Hands Off Soviet Russia!"--developed by the communists of the world--turned into an important factor in defeating the counterrevolution. "This support," V.I. Lenin wrote, "precisely this sympathy displayed toward us by the masses of working people--workers and peasants, and agricultural masses--throughout the world, including even in the states that were the most hostile toward us, precisely this support and this sympathy represented the last and the most decisive source of and decisive reason for the fact that all invasions aimed against us ended in rout, that the alliance of the working people of all countries proclaimed by us was strengthened and, within the boundaries of our republic, also realized, and that this alliance had an effect on all countries." (Footnote 32) (V.I. Lenin: Complete Collected Works, Vol 44, p 293)

In the period since then the active mutual solidarity of communists has confirmed more than once its force and effectiveness, and has essentially influenced the course of world events to the advantage of the cause of socialism and of all revolutionary forces. Suffice it to recall the close combat cooperation of the fraternal parties in the antifascist resistance movement during the World War II years. In the postwar period the communist

movement has written new pages in the history of international proletarian solidarity and, in particular, of the solidarity of revolutionaries in the nonsocialist world with the struggle of peoples in the countries of socialism to build the new society and to protect the achievements of socialism.

The CPSU as well as other communist and workers parties of socialist countries maintain fruitful relations with many political parties and organizations of the nonsocialist world which are very diverse in nature. But relations with the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries assume a special significance for the CPSU. For what is involved in this connection is not simply a matter of allies in the struggle for some or other concrete demands, but a matter of brothers, of comrades-in-arms in the great cause of deep and fundamental transformation of the world. "The revolutionary parties of the workers class are guided by the scientific theory of social development, Marxism-Leninism, and are pursuing a principled class-motivated policy. They are distinguished by their conviction concerning the historical inevitability of placement of capitalism by socialism, by their clear understanding of the objective, law-governed processes of socialist revolution in whatever form--peaceful or non-peaceful--it may be carried out, and their ability to apply the general principles of struggle for socialism in the concrete conditions of every country." (Footnote 33) ("Draft New Edition of the CPSU Program," pp 17-18)

The communist parties of the countries of socialism and the fraternal parties of the nonsocialist world are together not only on fundamental problems of a general democratic nature--first and foremost, in the struggle against the threat of war--but also against all aspects of exploitation and oppression. They jointly participate not only in political but also in ideological battles, jointly defend the principles of revolutionary teaching of the workers class, the principles of scientific socialism worked out by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and rebuff the imperialist, reformist, and revisionist ideologies, and anticommunism, and anti-sovietism.

"Soviet communists," the draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes, "always side with their class comrades in the capitalist world. The CPSU will use its international prestige to defend communists, victims of the arbitrary rule of reaction. It sets high store by the solidarity of the fraternal parties and by their struggle against anti-sovietism. Mutual support of the communist and workers parties of the socialist and nonsocialist countries is an important factor for social progress." (Footnote 34) (Ibid., p 73)

In setting the tasks of its activity in the ranks of the communist movement proper, our party proceeds from consideration of the character and specific features of the world situation and of the situation that has developed in this movement itself.

The worldwide historical process of social liberation, initiated by the Great October Revolution, continues. This means that the role of the masses and of their energetic activity in the historical process is growing. K. Marx noted in his time: "Together with the substantiation of the historical effect...the

volume of the masses, whose work this effect is, will also grow." (Footnote 35) (K. Marx and F. Engels: Works, Vol 2, p 90) V.I. Lenin considered this tenet to be one of the most profound and most important tenets of Marxism. (Footnote 36) (V.I. Lenin: Complete Collected Works, Vol 2, p 539) Our period has confirmed the correctness of this tenet in an especially convincing way.

As a matter of fact, when in the past have such enormous masses of people ever participated in active historical creativity? The construction of socialism and the struggle to build communism have already pulled into their orbit more than 1.5 billion people. And the national liberation struggle? Does not this struggle demonstrate the involvement of new hundreds and hundreds of millions of people, in fact, of a majority of mankind in the revolutionary transforming activity? And finally, the antiwar movement that has spread through all continents and regions of the world has become a striking symbol of the making of history by the masses.

It is clear that the increase in the numbers of participants in the historical process and the increased political activeness of the masses inevitably raise the question of a growing need for such an organized, ideologically armed and tempered force, which would be able to recognize the essence and dynamics of social processes, perceive and understand the paths of struggle which lead to the future, embody this understanding in a concrete program of activity, inspire the broadest masses with this program, and unite these masses under the banner of social progress. "The wider the ever new currents of social movements become," V.I. Lenin wrote, "the more important a strong social-democratic organization becomes that is able to open up new channels for these currents. The more the democratic propaganda and agitation, taking place independently from us, play into our hands, the more important the organized leadership of social democracy becomes...." (Footnote 37) (Ibid., Vol 9, p 302)

In other words, the increase in the numbers of participants in the socio-political struggle objectively /requires/ the greater role and activeness of communist parties. We see confirmation of this conclusion constantly and everywhere and, first and foremost, wherever spontaneous mass movements appear which, in the event that they are deprived of a reference point, either find themselves in a blind alley and exhaust themselves without achieving any results, or are drawn onto a false path that leads away from the goals of genuine social progress.

The significance of the activeness of communists in our period is especially growing, because precisely now the question of ensuring the further forward movement of social progress has become exceptionally acute. It is now becoming obvious to an increasing part of mankind: more and more problems arise in the course of society's development, and refusal to solve them delay in solving them can result in truly dangerous consequences for all the world's people, but nevertheless these problems are not being solved and they are not being solved as a result of the preservation of the supremacy of capitalist production relations over a considerable part of our planet. The realization

of this fact engenders people's growing--even if in most cases still spontaneous--craving for a change in the existing social orders.

However, what is involved in this connection is not merely the subjective aspiration of the masses to overcome the state of affairs which is profoundly contrary to their fundamental interests. What is involved is the fact that the objective material prerequisites for socialism are ripe on a worldwide scale. All the shifts in the productive forces and production relations of capitalism in the last few decades (the progress in the socialization of production, social polarization, growth of labor masses, and, first and foremost, of the proletariat, and so forth) represent a living testimony of this fact.

However, neither the existence of objective prerequisites for socialism nor the existence of the instinctive craving of the masses for a change in the existing state of affairs are enough to achieve any fundamental social transformations. History has convincingly demonstrated: These transformations cannot be spontaneously achieved. What is needed are the purposeful and organized activity of the masses and their will, readiness, and ability to wage the struggle for their implementation (in one form or another).

And increasing the role and influence of communist parties represents a most important condition and prerequisite for preparing the masses for a conscious struggle of this kind. "We see an //independent// and implacably Marxist party of the revolutionary proletariat," V.I. Lenin wrote, "as the sole guarantee for the victory of socialism and for the road to victory, a road that is free from vacillation to the greatest extent." (Footnote 38) (Ibid., p 275) This statement of Lenin's has retained its full significance also in our period. It will also retain it in the future.

In conformity with this, the /CPSU,/ as the draft new edition of its program points out, /sees its task in defending the revolutionary ideals and the Marxist-Leninist foundations of the world communist movement./

And finally, there is yet another exceptionally important specific characteristic of our period which objectively conditions the growing need to increase the force and influence of the communist movement. As has already been said, this is the danger of a nuclear war and the necessity to do everything possible to prevent it.

V.I. Lenin attached great importance to the activities of communists in the cause of the defense of peace. "The special antimilitarist propaganda," he wrote, "must be waged all the more energetically because interventions by military force in the struggle of labor against capital are becoming increasingly frequent and the importance of militarism is becoming increasingly obvious, not only in the present struggle of the proletariat, but also in the future, at the time of social revolution." (Footnote 39) (Ibid., Vol 17, p 192) "... The specific antimilitarist activity is not only especially necessary," he noted, "but also practically expedient and fruitful." (Footnote 40) (Ibid., pp 193-194) These words were written

nearly 7 decades ago. But their relevance is even more acute today than it was at the beginning of our century.

The antiwar, antinuclear, and antimissile struggle, the struggle against the militarization of outer space and for the prohibition of all nuclear tests has become an important mark of our time and an important aspect of social activeness of the masses in the last part of the 20th century. Without belittling in any way whatsoever the role of other participants in this struggle, it must be admitted that communists play a most prominent role in its development. Their specific role in this struggle is determined by the fact that they clearly understand the causes of the threat of war, unmask the real culprits responsible for the exacerbation of international tension and the arms race, and strive for cooperation with all those who are able to contribute to this struggle.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Program states: "Communists, who have always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are now also in the forefront of the struggle for the preservation of peace on earth and for the right of people to live." (Footnote 41) ("Draft New Edition of the CPSU Program," p 71)

/The CPSU considers it its important task to spare no efforts to increase the communist movement's contribution to the cause of prevention of a world war./

However, a legitimate question arises in this connection: Can it be hoped that the communist movement will succeed in meeting this "challenge of history" and increasing its role in and influence on the course of events in the world?

"The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they are firmly defending the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, point out the ways for leading society out of crisis situations, formulate a real alternative to the exploitative system, and give socially optimistic answers to the fundamental questions of our period. They are the true exponents and most staunch defenders of the national interests of their countries." (Footnote 42) (Ibid., p 18) This is the conclusion of the CPSU which is based on the entire history of the communist movement and on its rich and diverse experience.

It is possible to be confident that the strengthening of communist parties can be achieved precisely along the path of their continuation and development of their revolutionary traditions, and along the path of their consistent implementation of the class-motivated, genuinely national and, simultaneously, profoundly internationalist policy that is oriented toward a socialist future.

It is understandable that the implementation of this policy presupposes not only continuity in the continued implementation of the line of the Marxists-Leninists but also a consistent perfecting of this line, and the search for new solutions for the problems that arise.

As the draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes, it cannot but be taken into account that the communist and workers parties in the nonsocialist world operate in a difficult and contradictory situation. In the last few decades the conditions of the class struggle have changed and have become more complicated, first and foremost as a result of new achievements of the revolutionary forces and the increased opposition to these achievements on the part of imperialism.

The world development has essentially reached a certain new kind of frontier, the important characteristic of which is the approximate equilibrium of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries in the military-strategic sphere, and between imperialism and all its opponents in the sociopolitical sphere. Hence the increased tension and, at the same time, the considerably greater depth of the class struggle in the international arena.

Furthermore, during the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties the communists of the socialist countries encountered a number of complicated problems that are connected with the lag in the process of perfecting production relations in relation to the changed nature of productive forces and, in particular, with the lag in solving the questions of forms and methods of transition to the intensive conduct of the economy. Difficulties of a political nature, too, appeared in some cases (for instance, in Poland). In this connection, the fraternal parties of the countries of socialism note the importance of increasing the rates of improving the efficiency of social production, of accelerating scientific-technological progress, of further developing socialist democracy primarily by expanding the participation of the working people in the administration of all affairs of the society, and of perfecting the socialist way of life as a whole. For this purpose they strive to deepen their mutual cooperation both in the sphere of the economy and in the sphere of politics.

"The experience of the CPSU, of world socialism as a whole," the draft new edition of the CPSU Program points out, "shows that the most important factors for its successful advance are loyalty of the ruling communist and workers parties to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, creative application of that doctrine, firm links between the parties and the broad masses of the working people, strengthening of their authority and leading role in the society, strict observance of the Leninist norms of party and state life, and development of the socialist people's power; sober reckoning with the real situation and timely and scientifically substantiated solution of problems that arise; and building relations with other fraternal countries on the principle of socialist internationalism." (Footnote 43) (Ibid., p 64)

The difficulties encountered by many parties in the capitalist countries are in many respects connected with the fact that, after a relatively long period of high market demand during which revolutionary conditions did not arise, in the mid-seventies. The capitalist world rapidly entered a stage of crisis in economic development and of intensification of class struggle.

The cyclical and structural crises in recent years to a considerable extent influenced the mood of the masses and provoked sharp class clashes but, in some cases, they also lowered the combat capability of the working people. This situation was further affected by the fact that, as a result of the scientific-technological revolution, the social structure of the population, including the workers class that was supplemented by numbers of people from non-proletarian strata, has changed.

All these shifts have taken place under conditions when the anticommunist strategy and tactics of the monopolist bourgeoisie became increasingly forceful and aggressive. The political-ideological apparatus of imperialism is acting more and more perfidiously, combining discrimination against and persecution of communists and frank anticommunist propaganda with support for those elements within the workers movement which work against the class-motivated policy and international solidarity, and advocate social reconciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie. More than two dozen fraternal parties are still compelled to operate under conditions of illegality, underground work. The pressures applied by imperialism naturally cannot but cause additional and, at times, very serious difficulties for the fraternal parties in capitalist countries.

Here it also has to be added that in recent years a change of generations of the leading cadres of communist parties has been taking place virtually everywhere in the nonsocialist world, something that to a certain extent has also affected the state of affairs.

All this together has resulted in a situation where, in many cases, the fraternal ties in nonsocialist countries are now experiencing a certain stagnation or even a decline in the numerical strength of their ranks, which has also resulted in a certain decline of their influence. This applies, first and foremost, to the main centers of capitalism, that is, the developed capitalist countries. At the same time, the communist parties in a number of countries with a medium level of capitalist development have preserved or somewhat increased their influence.

The latest congresses of communists and workers parties in capitalist countries seriously called attention to the necessity of further broadening the influence of communists among the masses and, first and foremost, among the workers class on the basis of a consistent struggle for the vital interests of the working people, protection of the proletarian core against fragmentation and discrimination, and elaboration of the programs of economic struggle which would combine support for scientific-technological progress with struggle against the consequences of capitalist application of this progress. They also stressed the importance of new efforts to consider contemporary strategic and tactical goals that would take into account new phenomena in social development.

Communists in the liberated countries, too, have been now confronted with new tasks: the period of transition from the general national struggle to liquidate colonial dependence has been replaced by a period of a peculiar

combination of deepening class struggle within countries concerned with the struggle against the imperialist onslaught, in which local capital participates together with the popular masses.

Briefly, life everywhere is confronting communists with ever new problems and even those who are armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory and firmly base their actions on the genuinely scientific world outlook do not always immediately succeed in keeping pace with life's truly impetuous advance.

The disagreements on principled questions which broke out within the individual parties as far back as the seventies have not been overcome to this day. Clearly opportunistic positions have manifested themselves in a number of cases, of course, in various degrees, in various measures.

However, those who are consistently loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles continue to cope with the most difficult tasks of social progress and to advance confidently, even though they may not always advance quickly.

On the whole it can be said that the present difficulties of communists are a consequence of the current acceleration of the historical process.

The communist movement is now passing through a period of accumulation of its potential, a period of preparation for its further serious advance. This is not a simple task. But it is being accomplished, and accomplished constantly and everywhere at that. Even the complicated problems of the present period should in no case be dramatized.

As the draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes, the party proceeds from the assumption that the communists in each individual country independently analyze and evaluate the situation, independently determine their strategic course and their policy, and choose these or those ways of struggle for the immediate and ultimate goals, for the communist ideals.

"The CPSU closely studies the problems and experience of foreign communist parties. It regards with understanding their aspiration to perfect their strategy and tactics, to strive for broader class alliances on a platform of antimonopolistic and antiwar actions, and to defend the economic interests and political rights of the working people, proceeding from the assumption that the struggle for democracy is a component part of the struggle for socialism." (Footnote 44) (Ibid., p 72)

In sum total, it is the combination of consistent loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideology, efficient organization and discipline, and active and essentially revolutionary work among the masses that also ensures the communist party's life and progress as the party of the new, Leninist type.

To speak the truth, as is known views have recently been expressed in a number of cases claiming that the concept of the "party of the new type" is obsolete. It is said at times that what is now needed is not the party of the Leninist type but some kind of "new party," a party that is "wide open to the masses."

However, all these concepts essentially amount to one thing, that is, to advice to renounce the clear, class-motivated criteria and methods, the Marxist-Leninist ideological basis, and proletarian internationalism. But it is permissible to ask in the connection: what would then be left of the communist party? Recommendations of this type in fact appeal for retrogression and not for advance.

The conditions for activities of the fraternal parties are very diverse because they operate in the countries of socialism, in the developed capitalist countries, and in the liberated states. Accordingly, the forms and methods of their work and the specific features of their strategies and tactics are also diverse. However, this situation does not narrow but, on the contrary, broadens the movement's possibilities. The diversity of forms of their activities makes it possible for communists to take into account the specific national characteristics and specific historical, national conditions and interests of different social groups and strata of population.

At the same time, the diversity of conditions under which fraternal parties work and the complicatedness of their tasks at times lead to different appraisals and to different approaches to solving the specific problems of class struggle and, as is known, provoke discussions even between the individual parties.

These differences, discussions, and disagreements are, of course, different in their nature. In the CPSU's opinion, wherever differences exist on individual concrete issues, it is necessary to hold patient comradely discussions and deliberations. In many cases life itself will show who is right. However, if what is involved in this connection are the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and the essence and role of real socialism, the CPSU will continue to act from its principled positions and rebuff opportunism, revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism. This also determines its attitude toward any attempts to emasculate the class meaning of the activities of communists and to distort the revolutionary nature of the goals and of the means for achieving these goals. The relevant positions are absolutely clearly fixed in the draft new edition of our party's program document. As is stated in that document, the CPSU considers it its important task to consistently struggle against dogmatism and revisionism and against all influences of bourgeois ideology on the workers movement./

Different opinions on some or other issues existed in the communist party in the past, too. But life has convincingly proved that even when a divergence of views exists, it is possible and necessary to continue to develop political cooperation in the struggle against the common class enemy. Historical experience as well as the events of our period convincingly show: Communists cannot fully realize their role, the role of a weighty political factor in international life, without closing their ranks and without cooperating on a worldwide scale. This is a most important lesson of history, this is the urgent demand of the contemporary period.

The principle of proletarian internationalism has special significance in our period. It is one of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism. But, unfortunately, at times it is treated in such a way that hardly anything is in fact left of internationalism. It is claimed at times, for instance, that the internationalism which Marx and Lenin founded and defended is allegedly obsolete. But from the CPSU's viewpoint, renouncing proletarian internationalism would mean depriving the communist party and the workers movement in general of a powerful and tested weapon. This would be a good service rendered to the class enemy who, as has already been said above, actively coordinates his anticommunist actions on an international scale.

The Soviet communists consider the defense of proletarian internationalism to be a sacred obligation of every Marxist-Leninist. In this connection the draft new edition of the CPSU Program emphasizes: "In its relations with the fraternal parties, the /CPSU/ firmly adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism/ which organically combines in itself both revolutionary solidarity and recognition of the full independence and equality of each party." (Footnote 45) (Ibid., p 73)

Communist parties and the communist movement as a whole represent a most important factor of social progress. Strengthening these parties, developing their cooperation, and strengthening the communist movement in fact means advancing the common cause of the international workers class, the cause of peace and socialism--this is the firm conviction of the CPSU.

Proceeding precisely from this and taking into account the realities of the contemporary world development and its vital demands, the /CPSU/ as is stated in the draft new edition of its program, /considers it its important task to do its utmost for cohesion and cooperation among fraternal parties and for the international solidarity of communists./

This course, outlined in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program, continues the Leninist traditions of our party without interruption and, at the same time, fully corresponds to the new demands of the contemporary era. This is a course that is worthy of the party of the Great October Revolution.

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CSO: 1807/220

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

KAPITSA NAMED CHAIRMAN OF USSR UNESCO COMMISSION

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SOYUZA SOVETSKIKH
SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH RESPUBLIK (OTDEL PERVYY) in Russian No 8, 1986 p 122

[Text] On confirmation of Comrade M.S. Kapitsa as chairman of the USSR
Commission for UNESCO

The USSR Council of Ministers decrees:

To adopt the suggestion of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on
confirmation of USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Comrade M.S.
Kapitsa as chairman of the USSR Commission for UNESCO.

Deputy Chairman USSR Council of Ministers G. Aliyev

Administrator of Affairs USSR Council of Ministers M. Smirtyukov

Moscow, the Kremlin. 23 January 1986 No 99.

CSO: 1807/223

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

INTERVIEWS ON CEMA SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Chairman of State Committee for S&T

LD272035 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Mar 86

[Text] The latest session of the CEMA Committee on Scientific and Technological Progress, taking place at the level of leaders of ministries and departments for science and technology of CEMA member countries, ended its work in Moscow today. Here is what was said to correspondents of Soviet television and radio by Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology:

[Begin recording] [Marchuk] Our committee's session was devoted to implementation of the comprehensive program of scientific and technological cooperation which began after the 41st extraordinary meeting of the CEMA. It must be said that the countries have settled down very actively to implementing those decisions and it is now a busy time for us--we are already implementing the official registration and signing of agreements, contracts, and direct agreements between the enterprises of our countries.

[Unidentified correspondent] And what about these documents which have just been signed?

[Marchuk] We have now signed two of the biggest documents--two general agreements. They are, in fact, the basis of two priority directions: the first is a general agreement on technologies and new materials, and the second agreement is on biotechnologies. They will be the basis for a great many varied and detailed agreements and agreements on specific problems. But this time, in our committee we considered a wider set of questions: How the practical implementation of the concluding of agreements and contracts is going--and I want to note with satisfaction that here the improvement is considerable, although we all still have a great deal of work ahead. In fact, we have been assigned a total of 6 months by the 41st CEMA session, until 1 July, to complete this work. Our committee session demonstrated a general aspiration to complete this work in the time given, and with good quality.

[Correspondent] What is the essence of the signed agreement on materials and biotechnologies?

[Marchuk] The essence is in the fact that every general agreement makes it possible to map out in principle those questions which in the long-term are the component part of our problems, recorded in the comprehensive program, and on the basis of these problems detailed proposals are already being worked out and in the final analysis, contracts. Questions on the active use of innovations which science has now given us for resolving the most important questions which stand before our technology, national economy and economy--for example, ceramic engines--probably have to be chiefly singled out here. This is a problem of structural and compound materials, of membrane technologies--in a word, all that we are going to live on in the last 15 years of this century.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. [end recording]

CEMA Official

PM241515 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Mar 86 p 3

[Interview with Professor Vladimir Leontyev, chief of the CEMA Secretariat Scientific and Technical Cooperation Section, by "the correspondent of the CEMA Secretariat Press Bulletin": "CEMA: Approaching the 21st Century"--date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The next session of the CEMA Scientific and Technical Cooperation Committee is to take place in Moscow at the end of March. Today we offer for the attention of readers a conversation with Professor Vladimir Leontyev, chief of the CEMA Secretariat Scientific and Technical Cooperation Section, on the ways of implementing the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000.

Question: It is nearly 3 months since the signing of the Comprehensive Program. What is now being done to fulfill it?

Answer: I would like to point out that for such an impressive program, which runs for 15 years and provides for close collaboration among 10 states in the spheres which form the basis of revolutionary developments in science, technology, and production, 3 months is not a long time. But it should be said that intensive and productive work to implement the initial stage of the program is in progress in the CEMA countries and CEMA organs. First of all, it should be noted that very important problems on which the future of scientific and technical cooperation within CEMA depends are being resolved collectively. They are technical (technological) and organizational in nature. In many cases we are pioneers opening up virgin lands, since in all its previous practice over nearly 40 years, CEMA had not done anything similar.

The Comprehensive Program may be said to top the existing edifice of multi-lateral cooperation within CEMA with a new strategic story. First, as I said,

it covers an unprecedentedly long period--until the beginning of the third millenium. Second, it involves a strict choice of the main directions of scientific and technical progress from among all the diverse subject areas and problems.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress, described the implementation of the Comprehensive Program as an unusual initiative demanding a profoundly partyminded approach. Its implementation and the CEMA countries' transition to a coordinated scientific and technical policy, he noted, requires changes in the activity of the headquarters of socialist integration--CEMA--as well as greater attention to economic levers and initiative and to socialist enterprise and the involvement of the labor collectives in this process.

Question: A provision on the key [golovnaya] organization to coordinate work on each problem under the program is currently being drawn up. How is the work going?

Answer: There has been no similar instrument of organization in the history of collaboration among the fraternal countries. The "flagship" for solving a problem (in the 5 priority avenues, a total of 93 problems have been selected) will be the main organizational and coordinating link in scientific, technical, and production cooperation in the creation and introduction of new technology, techniques, and materials. It will bear the responsibility for the technical level and quality of the output created, its comparability with world models, the observance of the schedules laid down, and its wide utilization in the national economy.

The key organization is to elaborate the technical and economic substantiation for the carrying out of work, indicating the specific anticipated results, the parameters and schedules for obtaining these results, guidelines for volumes and cost, the forms and procedure for carrying out such work, and the financial terms. To this end the key organization elaborates a detailed program for cooperation on the given problem for the cycle as a whole: science, technology, production, sales.

Question: How is it planned to carry out work under the program?

Answer: By agreement with the interested CEMA countries, each of these "flagships" could act as the executor responsible for all concrete questions arising in connection with the given problem. But the very logic and purpose of the international division of labor and the advantages arising from specialization and the pooling of efforts dictate the need to divide the problem into its individual components--topics--and even smaller components--targets. These will be fulfilled by the responsible executors and coexecutors.

Question: And they could be from different countries?

Answer: Yes. In each specific case this will depend on the complexity of the problem and the existence of an appropriate modern scientific and technical base, since its standard and capacity determine the technical standard of the products.

The key organization for the problem, the executors responsible for each subject and target, and the coexecutors will establish very close relations among themselves. They will jointly elaborate proposals on the utilization of the latest scientific and technical achievements and production experience in the national economies of the countries concerned, the creation of special apparatus and equipment, the acquisition of materials in short supply, the purchase of licenses, and so forth, and will create the relevant standards, other normative and technical documents, rules, methods, and measuring systems.

I would like to emphasize that a special role belongs to direct links with the coexecutors in increasing the efficiency of the key organizations' activity. The 41st (extraordinary) CEMA session again pointed to the fact that all countries are convinced of the need to create the most favorable conditions for institutes, design bureaus, and scientific and technical centers and associations to "compete" directly with each other.

Question: As is known, it was decided at the CEMA session that Soviet organizations will become key organizations for certain problems. How is this decision being implemented?

Answer: Competent organs--the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the Gosplan, the ministries of Foreign Trade, Finance, and Justice, and the USSR's permanent mission to CEMA--recently determined the procedure for the activity, rights, and responsibility of a Soviet key organization on a problem under the program. Similar documents for individual topics are now being drawn up in the other CEMA countries. The Soviet key organization has the main responsibility for the state of affairs at all stages. It is granted very broad rights, including the right to conclude contracts in its own name with its partners from the CEMA countries for research, experimental, and design work and the manufacture of specimen products.

Many leading collectives have become Soviet key organizations. They are being joined by the recently created intersector scientific and technical complexes like "Biogen," "Tekhnologicheskoye Lazery," "Membrany," "Svetovod," and others. Each such complex incorporates dozens of scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and enterprises under various departments, capable of resolving the most complex science and production tasks.

Question: What agreements on implementing the comprehensive program have so far been concluded?

Answer: As is well known, the program's implementation will take place through a system of agreements. At the 41st (extraordinary) session the delegation leaders signed a general agreement on multilateral cooperation in the creation and introduction of automated design systems, a general agreement on multilateral cooperation in the creation, production, and operation of an integrated system of fiber-optic information transmission methods, and an agreement on establishing the "Interrobot" international science and production association. In addition, a number of new agreements are currently in preparation, including agreements on microprocessor technology, new materials and technologies for their production and processing, bioengineering, and many more.

The main provisions of the program state that the CEMA countries set a truly revolutionary task of achieving the highest standard in the most important avenues of scientific and technical progress. This cannot be done if the comprehensive program is seen as a collection of separate problems, however important. Life itself indicates that the implementation of the comprehensive program is possibly only given the use of the most progressive production techniques and qualitatively new technology and materials.

The comprehensive program is an extremely important document making it possible to link the long-term scientific, technical, and production plans of the CEMA countries and pool their efforts to speed up the implementation of the important socioeconomic tasks facing them at the present stage.

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CSO: 1825/50

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. 'RESPONSIBLE' FOR TENSIONS CAUSING TERRORISM

AU191130 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 125-126

[Article by Ye. Pyadysheva: "Under the Guise of the Struggle Against Terrorism"]

[Text] Washington does not miss a chance to loudly sound the alarm about increasing instances of the capture of hostages, bomb explosions, and assassination attempts--everything that it calls international terrorism. The President, secretary of state, and other high representatives of the U.S. administration constantly discuss this, stressing that the problem of international terrorism has attained the level of other priority tasks of U.S. policy.

Among others, the addresses by CIA Director W. Casey are notable for their great impetuosity. He has recently spoken a number of times "in his own circle" about international terrorism--in front of an audience basically consisting of people close to the "intelligence community." Before this public, the secret service chief did not hold back much.

For instance, having declared in a speech at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy that the United States is involved "in a ruthless war without borders," W. Casey told his listeners that America and NATO countries have to defend themselves to the utmost against certain states whose leadership is directing the actions of "ideological fanatics." This, he says, is the root of the whole problem.

At the same time the boss at Langley (the location of CIA headquarters) also cited figures. According to his data, the number of "international terrorist acts" had doubled in the last 3 years, reaching 1,000 in 1984. Every day, W. Casey said, somewhere a bomb placed in a car, hotel, or store explodes, and terrorists' bullets take human lives.

It goes without saying that there is no justification for the death of any innocent person. However, what W. Casey and his colleagues in the U.S. administration say by no means explains the heart of the matter. And Washington's arguments are calculated on something quite different. They want to obscure the truth that precisely the United States is basically responsible for the psychological climate, the tense political atmosphere in the world

that gives rise to all kinds of repression, violence, murders, and desecration of persons.

After all, it is a fact that with the coming to power of the current administration, the American "cloak and dagger" empire has become much more active. The CIA budget is currently growing more quickly than allocations to the Pentagon. The limitations on conducting the dirtiest, most criminal acts abroad have been removed.

The well-informed London journal (SOUSE) states: Never before, even in the fifties, when Allen Dulles took enormous pleasure in participating in plans for military overthrows, has Langley had such a great desire to "assist" in interference as now, when the CIA is headed by W. Casey.

Currently, the journal testifies, the CIA is guiding and supporting "seven regional wars in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, Lebanon, the Western Sahara, and Chad," "five major counterinsurgency operations in El Salvador, Sudan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines," and "at least nine programs of destabilizing the situation in Greece, Poland, Libya, Syria, Iran, Ethiopia, Cuba, Vietnam, and Mozambique."

According to America press reports, the CIA in all its conducting major "covert" operations in 50-70 sovereign states. In other words, every third state belonging to the United Nations is a target of acts of blackmail and murder carried out by the American secret service. So it turns out that the statistics of terror cited by W. Casey are far from complete. If the victims of "covert" CIA operations are taken into account, they should be increased many times.

W. Casey names Iran and Libya as the main centers of international terrorism. He asserts that Iranian and Libyan agents "hang like a Damocles sword" over many states of the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and of course the United States.

The CIA director handles facts and accounts with professional care, attributing to Iranians and Libyans methods of preparing operations and channels of supply of weapons and money. It seems that nothing is forgotten. The only thing not mentioned is the large-scale U.S. hostile subversive activities against these countries. And is it not obvious that precisely these activities of Washington serve as the main source of tensions concerning Iran and Libya? For instance, it is worth recalling the secret report prepared for the President recently published in the American press, in which the leaders of the U.S. "intelligence community" expounded plans of operations against Libya. The report frankly declared that the assassination of the leader of the Libyan revolution could be the most practical way of solving the Libyan problem.

W. Casey would not be W. Casey if he did not mention "Soviet complicity" in international terrorism. "Certain people may not see it," he announced to the audience at the Fletcher School, "but it is quite obvious to me."

And so that none of the listeners would be unconvinced about the fact that all intrigues emanate from the Soviet Union, the chief of Washington's secret service explained that this "complicity" consists of Moscow "disseminating the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which are the basis of terrorism and violence"--all in the name of "national liberation wars."

Marxists-Leninists have always been and remain principled opponents of terrorism as a means of political struggle. And today the Soviet Union resolutely protests against all manifestations of violence. The Soviet state firmly supported the resolution adopted at the 40th UN General Assembly session in December 1985 that condemned the practice of terrorist actions. It is pointless to look for the "hand of Moscow" in national liberation movements, which develop not by orders from the outside, but as a result of acute social processes within individual states as an expression of the unwillingness of popular masses to accept colonial oppression and imperialist domination.

Everyone in Washington knows this perfectly well. W. Casey's arguments about "Soviet complicity" in terrorism is a shameless and conscious lie fabricated to somehow stifle the growing worldwide indignation at "covert wars" and terrorist operations that the U.S. CIA is conducting in many countries.

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CSO: 1807/222

WESTERN EUROPE

U.S.-TURKEY MILITARY COOPERATION ASSAILED

PM211653 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 86 Second Edition p 3

[Captain First Class V. Burlyayev article under the "Notes A Propos" rubric: :On the Path to a Dangerous Deal"]

[Text] While arrogantly declaring strategically important areas of the world to be a sphere of its "vital interests," the Reagan administration is increasing its military preparations against the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries and embroiling its North Atlantic bloc allies, particularly Turkey, increasing deeply in these dangerous actions. In February this year U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger stated: "Turkey, which has land and sea borders with the USSR and Bulgaria, occupies a crucial position on the Soviet Union's route to the Mediterranean and is an outpost on NATO's southern flank."

The U.S. military-political leadership does not hide the fact that this factor is largely the reason it pays such close attention to its bloc partner. Already making use of over 60 military bases and facilities on Turkish territory in the interest of its armed forces and having deployed a considerable quantity of nuclear munitions there, the U.S. leadership is making determined efforts to involve that country even more in the implementation of its aggressive plans, which include the "star wars" program.

And it is no coincidence that high-ranking Washington envoys have begun visiting the Turkish capital for that reason. Ankara has recently received visits from Assistant Defense Secretary Perle, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Ridgway, and State Department representatives Armacost and Wilkins.

During meetings with representatives of the Turkish leadership they tried to prove the need to modernize the existing air and naval bases on the country's territory and to build new ones so as to provide backup for the U.S. interventionist 'Rapid Deployment Forces' activity in the region. Attempts have also been made to secure Ankara's agreement to an increase in the number of U.S. nuclear-capable aircraft based in peace time at the Incirlik Air Base. Nor have the Americans abandoned their sinister plans for creating stocks of deadly chemical weapons and increasing the number of nuclear charges and delivery vehicles in Turkey. Having won the Turkish

side's consent for regular flights by E-3A aircraft belonging to the "AWACS-NATO" system in its air space, Washington is working increasingly persistently to resolve the question of extending the functions and increasing the number of its intelligence stations and centers in areas bordering the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Syria.

According to foreign press reports, many of these themes and some others were discussed at the recent seventh session of the U.S.-Turkish joint defense group in Ankara in which such well-known "hawks" as Perle took part, and also at a seminar held in Washington 14-16 February this year by the American Friends of Turkey organization.

Despite the obvious danger of subordination to the U.S. adventurist policy, the Turkish military-political leadership is being induced to make new concessions to the Pentagon. In this instance it is a question of agreement in principle to examine a number of U.S. proposals and demands, particularly of the peace-time creation on the country's territory of stocks of weapons and equipment for U.S. troop contingents and the granting of extensive privileges in the provision of services for them. Addressing a press conference at the U.S. Embassy in Ankara 25 February, Perle stated that the agreement proposed by Washington "on backup for the U.S. Armed Forces in Turkey in a period of threat and at the beginning of war" envisages entrusting the Turkish Armed Forces' rear services organs with the tasks of receiving U.S. reinforcements at ports and airfields, transshipping freight, protecting jointly used airfields, carrying out repair and restoration work on them, and so forth. It should be noted that the White House stands on no particular ceremony when imposing the latest shackling agreement. The Turkish leadership only had to cite the existing law and stipulates a few conditions regarding the conclusion of the agreement on this question for the cynical call to be heard from across the ocean: "If the laws are getting in your way, change them."

The Americans' activity in Turkey can hardly be a surprise to anyone. Using the customary stock of devices ranging from the "carrot" to the "stick," Washington is hoping yet again to persuade the Turkish leadership to carry out its instructions. As an argument underlining the special character of U.S.-Turkey relations, promises are being given to considerably increase military assistance and expand the contribution to developing the Turkish military industry. Washington presumes that the display of such "concern" will change Ankara's attitude toward the plans to use the country's territory in American interests.

The facts show that the views of some representatives of the Turkish leadership are showing increasingly clearly the line of the further deepening of military-political ties with Washington. The hackneyed thesis is being put forward regarding the need to modernize the nuclear umbrella over Turkey and to increase the presence of U.S. troops in that country, which will not only reinforce NATO's southern flank, it is argued, but will also increase its security. National Defense Minister (Y. Yavuzturk), addressing journalists in Brussels in December 1985, stated

that "in the event of war or a crisis situation, Turkey will be supported by U.S. troops and, for its part, will provide them with the necessary rear support."

In this context it is appropriate to recall that the political document on the principles of good-neighborly and friendly cooperation signed between the USSR and Turkey on 23 June 1978, augmenting and developing the 1972 declaration on the principles of good-neighborly relations between them, confirmed their determination to observe the principle of refusing to let their respective territories be used for aggression and subversive actions against other states. In that connection Ankara cannot fail to understand the harm that may be caused to Turkey's security interests by Washington's obsession with threatening countries with nuclear war from other people's territory.

The United States has already used bases in Turkey to assist its strategic ally Israel during the events in Lebanon. Subversion and espionage actions have also been and continue to be committed against the Soviet Union from U.S. facilities in Turkey.

Clearly, those Turkish circles advocating the further expansion of military ties with the United States would do well to give thought to the fact that such a course merely plays into the hands of forces interested in complicating the international situation. This does not help to strengthen Turkey's own security, either.

Yielding to the transatlantic strategists' pressure cannot, of course, help Ankara to pursue its proclaimed course of developing relations of good-neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation with neighboring countries, including the Soviet Union.

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CSO: 1807/229

WESTERN EUROPE

JPRS-UIA-86-018
21 April 1986

FINNISH, ITALIAN DELEGATES COMMENT ON CPSU CONGRESS

Finnish Communist Party Minority

LD082251 Moscow International Service in Finnish 1700 GMT 6 Mar 86

[Remarks by Taisto Sinisalo, member of Finnish Communist Party minority faction, by unidentified correspondent in Helsinki; date not given -- recorded]

[Excerpts] The 27th CPSU Congress has given a solid new foundation to Finnish-Soviet relations in many, many fields. This concerns, of course, above all the efforts for peace in the north and in Europe. It also concerns economic cooperation and increasingly close contacts between the parties in the ideological and political fields, as well as in all spheres of social activity.

It can be clearly noted that the reactionary forces are also paying attention to this important event. Their striving is to try to cancel the positive results and the great prospects opened by the congress, and this, if anything, emphasizes still further in what a complex manner and how extensively and deeply the whole international communist movement must approach the results of the 27th CPSU Congress. In this sense, of course, a long period of work lies ahead in analyzing the results of the congress and applying them to unite the forces of the international communist movement and for strengthening the desire to fight and achieve unity.

This is particularly important for us Finnish Communists who are struggling with the party's own difficulties, which at the present time seem very serious. I am deeply convinced that in this respect, too, the congress has been a very significant event for us Finnish Communists; it strengthens the efforts for a Marxist-Leninist and internationalist communist party in Finland, the efforts that we have made and are making for the unity of the Finnish Communist Party and its ability to act.

Italian Communist Party

LD021742 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1245 GMT 2 Mar 86

[Interview with Ugo Pecchioli, member of the PCI Directorate and Secretariat, by unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 2 March; recorded in Italian with superimposed Russian translation; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Pecchioli] I fully share the assessment by Comrade Gorbachev of the processes taking place in the world today. The report contains a profound analysis of problems that are of paramount importance for all mankind and, what most important, it indicates ways to resolve these problems, which gives to the report great moral and political strength.

[Question] In light of the report, how would you assess the intentions of certain West European countries to take part in the "star wars" program? And are changes in stances possible?

[Pecchioli] I should like there to be changes. The whole world is struggling against the militarization of space, which would mean the start of a new fruitful spiral in the arms race and would intensify yet further the threat to mankind's existence.

To end my brief interview, I should like to say that wonderful relations exist between Soviet and Italian Communists, although there have been and there still are differences of opinion on many issues and standpoints. Our relations have improved even further since the visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade Natta, general secretary of our party.

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CSO: 1807/225

WESTERN EUROPE

SWEDISH AIDE ON TRADE TIES

PM251249 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Mar 86 p 1

[TASS report: "Broad Prospects"]

[Text] Stockholm, 24 Mar -- C.J. Aberg, Swedish Foreign Ministry Trade Department secretary of state, has come out in favor of the further development of trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Sweden.

Broad prospects for this, he stressed in the newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET, are present in the Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Through the Year 2000 adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Bilateral trade and economic ties, C.J. Aberg pointed out, have been developing particularly successfully in recent years. The activity of the Soviet-Swedish intergovernmental commission on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation makes a great contribution to this. Last year, with its assistance, a Soviet-Swedish agreement on financial trade was concluded, which has been received positively by Swedish business circles. Thanks to this agreement, which provides for new conditions for credit provision for some Swedish exports of machines and equipment to the USSR, a number of Swedish firms have already concluded advantageous contracts with Soviet foreign trade organizations.

An important new feature was the signing in 1985 of an agreement between the governments of the USSR and Sweden on coastal trade, which Sweden regards as a highly positive step by the Soviet side. This agreement created a basis for the development of bilateral trade in regions bordering on the Baltic Sea, gave small medium-sized Swedish firms the opportunity to take part in the reciprocal exchange of goods and services, and expanded the range of such goods.

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CSO: 1825/52

WESTERN EUROPE

USSR-SPAIN: COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED

LD262119 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 26 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow 26 March TASS -- The Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI) of the USSR and the Spanish Confederation of Employers' Organizations (SCEO) signed a protocol on cooperation here today. The document was signed by Gevgeniy Pitovranov, chairman of the Presidium of the CCI of the USSR, and Jose Maria Cuevas, SCEO's president.

The protocol says that the sides will use all the existing possibilities for promoting and expanding trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Soviet agencies and Spanish firms. For that purpose they will promote the establishment and development of contacts between business circles, the organization of seminars and conferences involving foreign trade associations of the USSR and Spanish firms, and assist the holding of exhibitions and fairs in the two countries.

The signing of the protocol concluded the visit of a delegation of the Spanish business community led by Jose Maria Cuevas to the USSR. During the visit the delegation was received by Ivan Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Konstantin Katushev, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR, and Alexey Manzhulo, deputy minister of foreign trade of the USSR.

Spanish businessmen also held talks at the Soviet ministries and foreign trade associations.

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CSO: 1825/52

EASTERN EUROPE

HUSAK CPCZ CONGRESS REPORT CITED

PM251614 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 86 Morning Edition pp 4-5

[TASS report: "17th CPCZ Congress: Comrade Gustav Husak's Report"]

[Text] Prague, 24 Mar -- The 17th CPCZ Congress began its work today at Prague's Palace of Culture. Representatives of some 130 fraternal communist and workers parties and progressive movements and organizations in the world are taking part in its work, including a CPSU delegation. It is headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

The congress agenda includes the following items: Discussion of the CPCZ Central Committee Political Report; written by the CPCZ Central Committee on the fulfillment of the 16th party congress decisions; approval of the "Basic Guidelines for the CSSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990 and in the period through the year 2000"; amendments to the CPCZ Statutes; and election of new CPCZ leading organs.

Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered the CPCZ Central Committee Political Report to the 17th CPCZ Congress.

He emphasized that the 17th CPCZ Congress is being held at a time when important changes are taking place in the life of the country and of the whole of mankind. The contemporary epoch presents us with new problems and makes new demands in many directions. Our task is to evaluate with total responsibility the atmosphere in which we are working, to discuss objectively what we have managed to achieve, and, at the same time, to point out with communist principledness, frankly, and honestly the weak points and shortcomings which hinder our progress. This will make it possible to set the tasks and map out the ways concerning the more efficient utilization of the potential and advantages of socialism and the acceleration of socioeconomic and societal development for the sake of the Czechoslovak people's happy life. We must measure all our steps against the loftiest responsibility facing mankind today -- the struggle for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, for ensuring a peaceful future, for the right to live in peace.

The CPCZ has gathered for its 17th congress with a sense of lofty responsibility to our people and to the international revolutionary movement. Our task is to sum up the results we have achieved since the 16th congress and in the entire period of the building of developed socialism, to define the main avenues of society's development and the party's activity in the next 5 years and, in the longer term, until the end of this century.

The preparation for the congress proceeded in an atmosphere of businesslike efficiency, principledness, and lofty moral and political exactingness. Hundreds of thousands of Communists and nonparty people actively joined in the discussion of documents which will be examined at the congress. Quite a few critical remarks were made. But the party's political line and our domestic and foreign policy received the working people's full support. The CPCZ displayed political unity and cohesion. The preparations for the congress were accompanied by widespread labor activeness and the advancement of initiatives in honor of the 65th anniversary of the CPCZ's foundation.

The entire pregress period was subject to the fruitful influence of the preparation and holding of the 27th CPSU Congress. It became an outstanding historical event and will without any doubt occupy an eminent position in the peoples' struggle for peace and social progress. The CPSU proved with its principled, creative, and innovative approach to the solution of key problems of the contemporary epoch that it performs with honor its historical mission. It was a congress of great and bold objectives, a congress of creation and peace, of lofty moral strength and humanism, of exactingness and Leninist principledness, of criticism and self-criticism. There was no embellishment or ostentation at it. It was congress of creative Leninism and historical optimism.

Our party and the Czechoslovak people followed with unprecedented attention the proceedings at the supreme forum of Soviet Communists. Particular interest was generated by the CPSU Central Committee Political Report which was delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Leninist spirit of this document, the conclusions contained in it, the new edition of the CPSU program, the other documents adopted by the congress, and the businesslike discussion had an enormous influence on us and gave an inspiring impetus to the party and the people.

We wholly support the results of the 27th CPSU Congress and its spirit of principledness. This means that we will study even more actively the experience of Lenin's party of Soviet Communists, will not rest satisfied with the achievements, and will see to it that criticism and self-criticism become an organic element of party life, that problems are resolved more daringly, that ties with the people are strengthened, and that implacability toward anything that harms the party and socialism is firmly established.

The recent past, G. Husak went on, abounded with fruitful, creative, and constructive labor. These years have been far from easy. The international situation deteriorated sharply in the late seventies and early eighties.

Most imperialist states hardened their policy of discrimination against the socialist world. Far-reaching changes occurred in the world economy, and they had a negative effect also on our domestic development. There emerged certain weaknesses, which primarily took the form of inflexible and inconsistent utilization of intensification factors and a slow rate of practical application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Some leading workers failed to understand fully that it is impossible to advance along the path of extensive development of the national economy, to work in the old-fashioned way.

The rates of economic development slowed down in the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan period. The Central Committee analyzed the situation, stood firm in the face of difficulties, and mobilized the party, the Communists working in the trade union movement, in all National Front organizations, and in state and economic organs, and the broad masses of working people to resolutely uncover and utilize reserves and consistently fulfill tasks. The Central Committee and the government were forced to adopt certain emergency measures for the purpose of ensuring domestic and external economic equilibrium and creating the preconditions necessary to restore the dynamic nature of national income growth. Certain amendments were made to the plan, more stringent measures were applied in the sphere of capital investment and imports, and a start was made on restructuring production and consumption, including price regulation.

Life has proved the correctness of the decisions that were made. The result was that, as early as in 1983, we had managed to restore the dynamic nature of national economic development and to fulfill on the whole the tasks set by the 16th CPCZ Congress. We have scored indisputable successes in industry, agriculture, and other sectors of the economy.

Despite the existing complexities and shortcomings, the party has always kept in view the main objective set by the 16th congress -- to maintain and raise the people's living standards. We have achieved this. The last 5 years were an important stage in the building of developed socialist society. Pursuing the long-term general line mapped out 15 years ago by the 14th CPCZ Congress, socialist Czechoslovakia has scaled high peaks in all spheres of social, economic, and cultural life.

National income has increased by 81 percent in 15 years. The volume of industrial output and of construction has increased by 97 and 84 percent respectively. The volume of agricultural output has increased by one-third, and a line of self-sufficiency was pursued in food production. There has been a substantial deepening of the CSSR's economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with CEMA countries, and primarily with the Soviet Union. The total volume of foreign trade has approximately doubled. The Soviet Union accounts for 45 percent of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade turnover, while CEMA countries account for 74 percent.

The key tasks of our domestic policy include the strengthening and further development of the socialist social system and the political system of

socialism. The path we have traveled since the early seventies offers a convincing answer to all antisocialist and revisionist forces which prophesized that the CSSR would not pull itself out of the crisis in the late sixties.

We have consistently marched along the path of consolidating people's power and the socialist state, of deepening socialist democracy. The leading role of the working class and its ties with the cooperativized peasantry and the intelligentsia have been consolidated, and society's moral and political unity has been strengthened. The Leninist principle of a federal state structure has fully proved its viability. The process of the further development and rapprochement of our peoples and ethnic groups continued.

Czechoslovakia is entering the second half of the eighties as a cohesive, politically strong, and economically and socially developed state with high living and cultural standards of the people.

The CSSR's foreign policy has also been clear and principled. The CPCZ has tirelessly seen to it that the CSSR is a firm link of the socialist community and that its international policy position and prestige in the world are consolidated. Our country's defense capability and security have been enhanced in international unity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Warsaw Pact states. Czechoslovakia plays an active part in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The successes of which we are rightfully proud were scored thanks to the CPCZ's principled policy, its unity with the working people, its organizational and ideological work, and the efforts made by the thousands-strong army of party workers. The party Central Committee and its organs ensured the continuity and creative development of the 16th congress' strategic line. In accordance with the stipulations of the document "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society Following the 13th CPCZ Congress," they realistically assessed the situation and led the party and society along the path of responsibly fulfilling the set tasks. One of the fundamental sources of our successful work is the fact that we have relied and continue to rely on the support of the socialist community and on the unbreakable friendship, alliance, and selfless cooperation with the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party.

We have achieved positive results. This does not mean, however, that everything has gone smoothly, that we can rest on our laurels and pay no attention to the weak spots in our work. Let us ask ourselves frankly: Could we have not achieved even greater results and even greater progress in the intensification of the national economy, in the efficiency and quality of labor? There is not a single sector where existing reserves have been fully utilized. This was pointed out with complete justification during the pregress discussion. There is still too much inconsistency in leadership activity, in cadre work, and in the fulfillment of resolutions. This must not be ignored. An uncritical approach and unprincipled attitudes

lead to subjectivism, stagnation, and loss of the long-term view. The bitter experience of the sixties shows where this can lead.

There have been problems, and there will be problems. What is important is not to cover them up or push them aside, but to resolve them promptly. It is impossible to tolerate any discrepancy between words and deeds, any halfhearted attitudes, any parochialism, bureaucracy, or formalism.

Our people are justified in linking the guaranteed further dynamic development of the CSSR with the activity of the Communist Party and its leading role, which grows in a law-governed process as socialist building progresses. All party organs and organizations and every Communist must be aware of this. Our entire work must be based on the activeness of the masses and their creative energy. It is necessary to raise to a higher level the party's political, organizational, and ideological work, to improve the activity of state and economic organs, and to arm ourselves with methods and a style of work guaranteeing the achievement of the prescribed goals.

For us the key question of our time is the acceleration of society's socioeconomic development and the substantial enhancement of the national economy's efficiency. We perceive the main purpose of our efforts to be the further growth of the people's living standards, the strengthening of their socialist guarantees, and the creation of conditions for the harmonious development of the individual and the deepening of the socialist way of life. But we must always bear in mind that the growth of the working people's material and cultural standards is directly dependent on their active participation in the creation of social wealth.

Proceeding from an analysis of the potential and requirements of society's further development right through the year 2000, we are setting ourselves ambitious goals. In the next 15 years national income must increase by more than two-thirds while the materials- and energy-intensiveness of production is significantly reduced. Social labor productivity must increase by almost two-thirds. Only thus will it be possible to create the necessary resources for the growth of personal and social consumption, for the construction and modernization of housing, and for the more efficient solution of ecological problems.

The all-around intensification of the economy is conditioned by the substantial acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the consistent introduction of its achievements in practice. This is the main avenue for achieving a labor productivity level which would open up for our country the prospect of occupying a leading position among developed states and making an effective contribution to strengthening the positions of socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

This is what determines the exceptional importance attached to the CSSR's participation in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, which

is a qualitatively new step in socialist economic integration. The strategic avenues of the Comprehensive Program fully meet Czechoslovakia's needs. We consider the implementation of this program to be a key task of our economic, scientific, and technical policy, and we will channel the efforts of all sectors, production associations, and enterprises toward its solution.

We attach paramount importance to the fulfillment of the Program for Long-Term Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the USSR through the Year 2000. Its implementation will require enterprising, energetic, and responsible actions by the entire management and economic sphere.

The management and planning machinery and all investment policy must be subordinated to the long-term strategy of intensification of the national economy. The struggle for acceleration, for scientific and technical progress, for the implementation of structural changes, and for a substantial improvement in management and planning must become the main purpose of activity by party, state, and economic organs. It is necessary to overcome more resolutely stereotyped solutions, conservatism, inertia, and habits associated with the extensive development of the economy.

We must make a decisive step in the implementation of the strategic line of economic and social development already in the Eighth 5-Year Plan period. The main demand is to achieve an 18-19 percent growth of national income. Moreover, 92-95 percent of this must be achieved as a result of increased social labor productivity. It must be noted that it was far from easy to arrive at these figures; they had to be struggled for. The Central Committee perceives the projected 3.5-percent annual growth of national income as the minimum. We cannot make concessions to interests of individual sectors or ignore attempts to revise plans or take the well-trodden path.

Compared with industrially developed countries, we are making poor use of fixed capital. It is necessary to substantially reduce the materials- and energy-intensiveness of production, which is still high, already in the current 5-year period. There are significant reserves latent in the utilization of work time, the organization of the labor and production process, and the entire management system.

The national economy's dynamic development is possible only under conditions of tirelessly improving the system of planning and management of the economy and consistently restructuring the economic machinery. Important steps have been taken in this direction in line with the 16th party congress decisions. The course of the acceleration of socioeconomic development and of the economy's intensification makes demands at a higher qualitative level. All socialist countries are seeking the most effective ways to resolve this key task. The 27th CPSU Congress decisions are particularly important for us in this sphere.

A great deal needs to be changed in sector ministries' work style. Their task is to lead in accordance with the adopted concept and with due consideration for national economic scales. It is necessary to improve the methods of notifying enterprises of plans, to limit the number of plan indicators, and to boost the role of economic contracts.

The entire management system must be based on well thought-out relations between the center and grassroots components. This demands that the independence and responsibility of enterprises be enhanced simultaneously with the improvement of central management and planning. The activity of enterprises must be placed completely on the basis of financial autonomy. Enterprises' income must be made dependent on the efficient utilization of existing resources, the role of prices, contracts, norms, and the banking and finance system must be really enhanced, and scope must be given to socialist enterprise.

Particular attention must be given to the strengthening of state discipline at all levels, from top to bottom. The system of management and planning must exert an influence on the development of scientific and technical progress and the introduction of its achievements in production. The demand that scientific and technical development become the foundation of plans and the key element of activity by planning commissions, commissions for scientific and technical development and capital investments, ministries, and enterprises is still being implemented only slowly.

Far from everything has been done to ensure that our scientific and technical potential is fully mobilized to resolve the tasks facing us and that scientists' creative labor yields a greater effect. It is necessary to strive more energetically to concentrate the capacities and resources of scientific collectives on the rapid resolution of tasks, particularly the tasks stemming from the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000.

The fulfillment of the set tasks is impossible without expanding working people's participation in management, without making extensive use of team forms of labor organization and of financial autonomy, without developing socialist competition oriented toward the qualitative aspect of the economy, and without stepping up material and moral incentives. Working people's participation in management can take many paths, and they must be improved and purged of formalism. In this process it is necessary to study and creatively apply the experience accumulated in the socialist countries.

The quality of production is not only an economic but also a political question. Shortcomings in this sphere -- and there are quite a few of them -- inflict both material and moral damage, disrupt the steady pace of production, and generate justified criticism by people. It must be openly said that without a turnabout in this direction it is impossible to fulfill the set task, achieve high productivity, or accelerate scientific and technical progress.

We must appreciate fully that it is impossible to achieve the set goals without a well-functioning system of planning and management. The main condition is the tireless development of productive relations based on public ownership of the means of production and unity of economic and social policy.

We attach paramount importance to a well-considered social policy aimed at raising the people's living standards and improving social relations. It is necessary to strive constantly for the all-around improvement of people's lives, treat their needs with consideration, and remove in good time all barriers across the path of bringing our society's classes and social groups more closely together.

It is assumed that the rate of personal consumption will increase and the people's living standards will be raised still higher during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period. Citizens' incomes will increase by 14 percent, with average wages rising by 6.5 percent. Wage levels will be made closely dependent on labor productivity growth. The principle of remuneration according to merit, which meets the demands of social justice, must be observed in the remuneration of labor. Many shortcomings still exist in the implementation of this principle, primarily taking the form of wage leveling.

Various negative phenomena, such as speculation and unearned income, are a serious breach of socialist principles. Much still remains to be done to eradicate parasitism, embezzlement of socialist property, bribery, and other relics of the past which must be resolutely combatted.

This is not the first time we have spoken about these antisocial phenomena. The February 1983 letter from the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium pointed out the need to struggle against them. Indisputable progress has been achieved in this direction, but it is by no means everywhere that we act with the necessary consistency. It is necessary to enhance party responsibility for the fulfillment of the decisions contained in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium letter. It emphasizes the importance of the struggle against all negative phenomena and the struggle for the observance of the principles of socialist morals and laws. We are convinced that this principled approach enjoys the full support of the entire party and the majority of our people.

The system of social security, which has reached a high level in the CSSR and is one of the great gains of socialism, occupies a firm position in social policy. Some 470 billion korunas will be invested in this sphere during the current 5-year plan period. Considerable appropriations will be channeled into the development of health care services, education, and culture. The main task in housing construction is to build 480,000 apartments during the 5-year plan period.

The protection of the environment is a pressing and, one might say, world problem. Many questions in this sphere are impossible to resolve on a

national scale. They are at the focus of attention of various international forums, in which the CSSR plays an active part. A total of 17 billion korunas will be allocated to environmental protection during the current 5-year plan period, which will be more than double the amount expended during the last 5-year plan period.

One of the most important tasks of CPCZ policy is concern for strengthening the leading role of the working class and consolidating its alliance with the cooperativized peasantry and the intelligentsia. This alliance provides the social base of the unity and further rapprochement of our peoples and ethnic groups. We attach great importance to ensuring that the interests of classes, social groups, peoples, and ethnic groups are carefully taken into account and that Czechoslovak society grows tirelessly stronger under the leadership of the working class.

The development and improvement of socialist democracy and the expansion of working people's participation in the management of society is a firm line pursued by our party. The creative activity, initiative, and consciousness of the masses are an inexhaustible source of socialist society. This is indeed the foundation of socialist democracy guaranteeing human rights which are closely linked with man's duties and responsibilities to society.

In order to achieve a higher level of development of socialist democracy it is necessary to improve further and comprehensively the activity of organs and organizations belonging to the National Front. We are talking about the National Front making an even more active contribution to the growth of people's creative participation in socialist building.

New tasks and high demands face the revolutionary trade unions. They must be more active in raising questions of discipline and order in production, uphold the principles of fair remuneration of labor, struggle against wage leveling and unearned income, and give daily attention to questions of introducing the achievements of science and technology in practice.

Much attention must continue to be given to the all-around education and training of the younger generation. The attitude toward youth is the attitude toward the country's future. The Socialist Youth Union is the party's loyal assistant in work with young people. Its activity merits recognition and gratitude. Nevertheless, there are also untapped reserves in its activity, and these reserves must be utilized for the benefit of the common cause.

We attach fundamental importance to the development and strengthening of the socialist state. The time in which we live and the tasks facing us demand the enhancement of the state's role as the main instrument of economic and cultural building, of consolidating socialist law and order, and of defending the socialist gains.

We will continue to be concerned to ensure that the CSSR's unity continues to strengthen on the basis of the federal system. It seems that the time has come to elaborate a new CSSR Constitution. Considerable changes have occurred in the 25 years since the adoption of the current constitution, and these changes have been reflected in the appropriate legislation. It is necessary to codify them in a single constitution document.

The successful implementation of the acceleration of economic and social development demands that the federal and republic governments focus their attention on key tasks and organize and monitor more firmly the fulfillment of decisions that have been adopted. The command of the times is to improve management and interaction in the work of ministries and other central departments. It is incumbent upon every minister to be aware of the fact that he is a member of a government which is the executive organ of the people's will. This is why he must approach the fulfillment of tasks not from narrow-minded departmental positions with due consideration for the interests of the whole people. The introduction of effective management methods presupposes that the governments will be more resolute in removing all bureaucratic barriers. It is necessary to limit the number of directives and instructions.

We will give great attention to the improvement of the work of national committees. Their role in management is constantly growing. In this connection we are faced with the question of improving the quality of the activity of representative organs and their deputies. The entire political system and each of its components must operate in the awareness that they serve the people and socialist society. It is necessary to strengthen law and order. We will not allow anyone to break laws or undermine the political system and our socialist system, regardless of any phraseology about freedom, or human rights which may be used as camouflage.

We will continue to devote constant attention to strengthening the CSSR's security and defense capability. We will make every effort to ensure that the Czechoslovak People's Army along with the other Warsaw Pact armies is comprehensively prepared to ensure the reliable defense of socialist building and our people's peaceful life.

The resolution of the tasks of the forthcoming period must be closely linked with political education and ideological work. Its aim is to promote in the most active way the molding of the new man -- a conscientious citizen of the socialist motherland and a comprehensively developed individual who has mastered the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the principles of socialist morality and acts in accordance with them.

The history of socialist building teaches us that there is nothing trivial in ideological work and that formalism, dogmatism, and the substitution of phrases for arguments must not be permitted.

Under present-day conditions when the mobilization of the people's creative forces is a decisive condition for further progress, the party is making heightened demands on ideological work. In it, together with a constant orientation toward the shaping of outlooks and moral and labor education, it is necessary to strive to elucidate the strategic course of our economic policy. The need to accelerate the economy's transition to the path of intensification is a really revolutionary task whose historic importance can be compared with socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. Its resolution is closely linked with the struggle to change people's thinking and entire mentality. This is a struggle against inertia and sometimes against the inability and reluctance to change ingrained forms of work and move to new methods corresponding to the demands of the day.

The call of the times is to gear ideological and political work to the deeper elucidation of the tasks stemming from the socioeconomic program and to devote paramount attention to criteria such as conscientiousness, honesty, punctilious fulfillment of one's duties, and responsibility to the collective.

We are obliged to link the elucidation of our domestic policy much more closely with the international situation and the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Here the task of educating the masses in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism is to the fore.

Propaganda must be more incisive and specific, proceed from specific realities, take the level of people's political maturity into account, and rely on the results of scientific achievements and the generalized experience of the CPCZ and other fraternal parties, primarily the CPSU. In ideological work it is necessary to avoid spreading illusions about easy ways of further development or spreading false optimism or pessimistic moods. We must not be content with what has been achieved nor avoid difficulties but mobilize working people to resolve the tasks that have been set.

The persuasiveness of this work is determined by its close link with life and practice. How can propaganda be claimed to be effective when one thing is said and another is done and words are at odds with deeds.

The need to improve propaganda work and to raise its level and effectiveness stems from the internal needs of developing socialism and from the exacerbation of the class struggle on an international scale. Imperialism is building up psychological warfare against the socialist countries and trying to set the socialist states against each other, primarily against the Soviet Union. It is trying to revive nationalism and chauvinism and even to abuse citizens' religious feelings.

It must not be forgotten that the CSSR is one of the countries that have been subject to the sharpest attacks from anticommunist forces. They use any lie to besmirch socialism and the results of our work or to falsify the history of Czechoslovakia's peoples. That is why one of the tasks of

ideological work is to provide reasoned exposes of the anticommunist centes' lie campaigns. It is necessary to show the advantages of the socialist system and socialist democracy, to elucidate the humanitarian nature of our revolutionary ideology, and to propagandize the truth about socialism.

The CPCZ Central Committee has devoted and will continue to devote great attention to the mass media. They are called upon to report correctly and promptly on the country's life and world events and to provide extensive information about the work of party, state, and economic organs and social organizations.

It is necessary to proceed on the basis that working people have the right to know what measures are being taken to eradicate the shortcomings that have been criticized. Leading workers must write regularly in the press, appear on radio and television, familiarize the public with the activity of the institutions under their jurisdiction and the progress in resolving the tasks that have been set, and answer questions that concern people. This wholly accords with the Leninist principle of keeping the broad public informed.

The party press headed by the newspaper RUDE PRAVO must set an example of Leninist principledness, combativeness, and uncompromisingness in pursuing party policy.

The social sciences must analyze our society's life more boldly and systematically and draw up concepts and proposals aimed at accelerating socioeconomic development, improving the political system and the economic mechanism, and forecasting further ways of social development. An important task for the social sciences is to participate more actively in strengthening the socialist awareness of the people -- particularly young people -- in fostering and molding people for socialist society.

The important new stage of our society's development poses serious tasks for culture and art, which play an important role in enriching spiritual life, developing people's creative forces and potential, and ensuring their ideological and moral growth.

Under socialism culture is called upon to serve the people's interests. In their creativity cultural and artistic figures must depict socialist reality correctly and in a highly artistic way and reflect our working people's resolve to fulfill the tasks that have been set and overcome all obstacles on the path of building socialism in a spirit of socialist realism. An important place must be given to the process of bringing closer together and mutually enriching the cultures of the socialist countries and progressive movements in the world and the role of culture in the struggle for peace and mutual understanding among peoples.

The main aim of the CSSR's foreign policy is to create favorable conditions for building a developed socialist society. Our society's international prestige and influence are determined by all-around successful development

and the CSSR's firm positions in the socialist community. The growth of economic and spiritual potential increases Czechoslovakia's contribution to the struggle for peace and the resolution of the main questions of the day -- the elimination of the threat of nuclear war and the achievement of international security and disarmament.

In present-day international politics there is a clash between two opposing trends and two approaches to the questions of war and peace.

Through the fault of imperialism's aggressive militarist policy the international situation remains tense. This threatens mankind's very existence. In an attempt to weaken socialism and achieve military strategic superiority and social revenge, imperialist circles, primarily in the United States, are building up the arms race, including efforts to militarize space. They would like to dictate their will to other states from a position of strength and hamper progressive development in the world.

This adventurist line is opposed by the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries aimed at stabilizing international relations, continuing the detente policy, ending the arms race, and ensuring disarmament. "Socialism," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev stated at the 27th CPSU Congress, "unconditionally rejects wars as a means for resolving interstate political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes. Our ideal is a world with no weapons or violence, a world in which each people is free to choose its own path of development and its own way of life."

The peace program put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress stems from this irrefutable truth. It is a specific and effective program aimed at saving the world from nuclear, chemical, and other types of mass destruction weapons, establishing stable peaceful cooperation among peoples and states with different social systems, and creating the foundations for a comprehensive international security system. It is a realistic, understandable, and profoundly humanitarian program and a manifestation of the high level of responsibility for mankind's fate. It has met with support from progressive, peace-loving mankind.

The USSR's peace program opens up a unique opportunity for mankind. If the people want to enter the 3d millennium without fearing for their future they must grasp this historic chance. The CPCA and the entire Czechoslovak people wholly support this program. We are using all means and opportunities at our disposal to promote the implementation of this majestic peace plan as effectively as possible.

The international peace-loving public welcomed the resumption of dialogue between the USSR and the United States at summit level. The public link with the hopes of the reality of a world without wars and the possibility of averting a nuclear catastrophe. It is now necessary for the words to be followed by concrete deeds. That is the path taken by the Soviet

Union. Confirmation of this is provided by its specific initiatives and unilateral measures, including the moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The whole world is now asking when the United States will take a realistic and responsible approach to the solution of the main international problems. As yet the U.S. Administration's position and practical steps attest that the U.S. ruling circles do not intend to embark on the path of nuclear disarmament. As is well known, the other day the United States carried out another nuclear explosion, which evoked indignation among the world public. But the realities of the modern world cannot be ignored, they clearly indicate that there can be no winners in a nuclear war or in an arms race. The aggressive militarist circles are opposed by the growing might of peace-loving forces.

The paramount task of the CSSR's foreign policy is to strengthen friendship and to constantly develop and deepen cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, primarily the USSR. It is now impossible to resolve a single question of world politics without the participation of the socialist community. This is also determined by our responsibility for strengthening the community's unity and cohesion based on joint Marxist-Leninist ideology and the principles of socialist internationalism and our responsibility for its further dynamic growth and for socialist successes in peaceful competition with capitalism.

The need to make accelerated and comprehensive use of the advantages of socialism in individual countries and the entire community has come to the fore. To this end it is necessary to seek new and more effective forms of cooperation in all spheres--politics, the economy, science, technology, and ideology. This means improving the machinery and methods of activity of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA in the interests of ensuring defense, coordinating foreign policy, and ensuring the all-around development of socialist economic integration.

The entire history of socialist building in the CSSR confirms the principled and continuing importance of alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the Soviet Union for the Czechoslovak people's vital interests and for ensuring our state's security. This alliance, based on mutual profound respect and understanding and on our communist parties' coinciding views on all main questions is for us not just an intellectual but a heartfelt matter. It is the source of our confidence, on which all our plans and prospects rely.

We attach great importance to solidarity and collaboration among all the socialist countries. The CSSR is prepared to fully normalize and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the PRC.

We will continue to develop relations with the capitalist countries on the basis of equal rights, mutually advantageous cooperation, and noninterference in internal affairs. We favor a frank, honest, and fruitful dialogue which would promote mutual trust, the strengthening of international security, and the detente process in the spirit of the Final Act of the

all-European conference in Helsinki. Any attempts to exert pressure, discriminate, or introduce sanctions and embargoes are incompatible with this. We also condemn the revanchist demands to revise the borders and postwar setup in Europe.

The strengthening of security on our continent would undoubtedly be promoted by the implementation of the joint initiative by the CSSR and the GDR to create a chemical weapons-free zone in Central Europe.

The international communist and workers movement is an important political force in the struggle for peace, against imperialist policy, and for the social transformation of the world. Our duty is to support each initiative aimed at strengthening cooperation in the struggle for common goals and for peace and socialism while respecting the difference between individual parties' tasks and conditions of activity.

The CPCZ will continue to develop and deepen active dialogue with social democratic and socialist parties advocating the policy of detente and peaceful cooperation among the peoples.

In our foreign policy activity we will always take account of the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people, the socialist community, social progress, and world peace. This course stems from the very essence of the socialist system. Socialism, social progress, and peace are indivisible.

We are looking to the future with optimism for we are convinced that peace will be maintained. The guarantee of this is the unity of the socialist community and the cooperation and collaboration with all the planet's progressive and realistically-minded forces.

At the congress we can state with pride, G. Husak stated, that the importance of the creation of the CPCZ 65 years ago has been confirmed by the victorious completion of the struggle against capitalism and fascism and first and foremost by the successes in building a developed socialist society. We have encountered failures and defeats along this road, but the Communists have continued their just struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all working people and for a better future for Czechoslovakia's peoples.

History confirms that we could not have achieved these results without the Marxist-Leninist party. We are quite rightly proud of our party and of the fact that we are members of the revolutionary vanguard which sees the point of its activity as being to serve the working people's interests, display concern for their welfare, and struggle for progress and peace.

The CPCZ is now a mighty political force enjoying high prestige and trust among the people. The 1,675,000 Communists are an enormous army operating in all spheres of society's life. The party's worker nucleus has been

considerably strengthened. Workers and cooperativized peasants now comprise around 50 percent of its ranks. The party has grown younger, and one-third of it is made up of Communists under 35. The party has fostered a young guard which will continue building the socialist society. Our most important duty is to be concerned about the purity of revolutionary makeup and the good name of Communists. This duty stems from the entire history of the CPCZ and the lessons of the crisis development in the late sixties.

During the pregress discussion support was expressed for the proposed changes to the CPCZ Statutes. The Central Committee has received many valuable proposals and recommendations, which have been attentively studied. Many of them have been used to draw up a final version of the draft. The changes are called upon to adapt the statutes to fit new demands and to ensure that the party can carry out its leading role more effectively, to increase the importance of party organs and organizations, to raise the responsibility of each Communist, and to bolster the party's control functions.

Party organs and organizations must create conditions for extensive participation by Communists in problem-solving, for constructive exchanges of opinions and experience, and for critical analysis of the results of work. It is necessary to make comprehensive use of the Leninist principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility.

We fully agree that, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress, "where criticism and self-criticism subside and where party analysis of the real situation is undermined by talk about successes all party activity is deformed and an atmosphere of complacency, total license, and impunity is created which leads to the most serious consequences."

The party statutes oblige us not to allow criticism to be suppressed. We see communist criticism and self-criticism as a natural component of intraparty life and as an irreplaceable tool for building a developed socialist society. This, however, has nothing to do with demagoguery, which besmirches honest labor and honest people.

In the process of all socialist building the CPCZ has devoted great attention to cadre policy. It has fostered many able workers devoted to socialism in all spheres of social life. The new tasks and the resolute implementation of the strategic course of accelerating socioeconomic development and our society's overall upsurge enhance the demands made on cadre selection, training, and placement and the monitoring of their work. Yesterday's yardsticks are inadequate today. Moreover, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that routine, inertia, and bureaucratism exist in the activity of a number of leading workers.

Only leaders who are able to react to new demands, think independently and creatively, take responsibility, be demanding with regard to themselves and others, and take a principled and attentive attitude toward people can cope well with their duties. Therein lies the essence of the Leninist style of work. Responsible posts must be manned by able and

competent people -- Communists, nonparty people, and members of other political parties. We have many such leaders. The party values them and will continue to support them.

In the period since the 16th Congress there has been a renewal of leading cadres in the party and in leading sections of social and economic activity. In this period almost one-third of secretaries and over 45 first secretaries of rayon CPCZ committees have been replaced. In oblast committees over 40 percent of secretaries have been renewed. There have been changes to the state and economic apparatus. These have affected deputy ministers, leaders at middle management level, and enterprise directors. We favor healthy stability among cadres and at the same time their rational renewal where required by life and the interests of the work. Present-day tasks require that we promote capable and talented people even more extensively and boldly and unite the maturity of experienced workers with the zeal and vigor of young workers.

It is necessary to constantly remember to systematically improve the vocational and ideological-political training of leading workers and to ensure that they assimilate Marxist-Leninist theory and the methods of party work. This is a barrier to the danger of narrow professionalism and callous overemphasis of practice and is a guarantee of a broad political outlook and high culture.

In cadre work it is necessary to constantly remember that increased responsibility and powers entail obligations and demands on leading cadres. Party organs and organizations must oppose violations of party statutes, socialist morality, laws, and discipline in a principled fashion and draw the necessary conclusions up to expelling from the party those who commit violations.

In their activity party organs must rely on CPCZ primary organizations and enhance their independence in resolving tasks and problems. Party leadership should not be replaced with specific administration of state and economic affairs. Practice shows that certain party organs and organizations are shouldering the responsibilities of state and economic organs. The party's leading role is thereby not strengthened but fragmented. The complexity of the new tasks requires that, along with strengthening the party's leading role, responsibility be increased and scope be opened up for activity by state, economic, and social organs alongside intensified party control work.

The more effective the party's leading role, the richer its intrapolitical life and the more consistently the Leninist principles of democratic centralism are observed. Therein lies the source of the party's vital energy and the combination of broad democracy and the free exchange of opinions with responsibility and high discipline.

We Communists are participants in the struggle for a better and just world. That is why we are endeavoring to further strengthen the party's political,

organizational, and ideological unity, which is the main factor in implementing the large-scale plans discussed at the congress. We see this as the party's vanguard role in society. It is seen in specific work, in the unity of words and deeds, in Communists' daily lives, in the ability to creatively resolve new tasks and overcome the obstacles in the way of social development, and in the struggle for social progress and dynamic progress.

CPCZ policy reflects the interests of the working people and relies on their support. And the methods of work with people founded on trust in working people and their creative potential and on the resolve to promote the further building of socialism in the CSSR must accord with this.

The building of socialism and its successful development are convincing confirmation of the correctness of party policy. Socialism is deep-rooted in our land. The aspirations of the founders of the CPCZ and the generation of Communists who waged the struggle for working people's rights against capitalism and fascism and for national liberation and who laid the foundations for building socialism in our country have materialized. The CPCZ is true to their revolutionary behests.

The program we have outlined accords with working people's fundamental interests and the efforts of the world's revolutionary and progressive forces to ensure social progress and lasting peace. We are proud that the CSSR is part and parcel of the socialist community and the broad anti-imperialist front. It is implementing its bold plans in indissoluble fraternal cooperation with Soviet Communists and the Soviet people.

In conclusion G. Husak said that at all stages when we have been faced with new tasks the CPCZ has demonstrated the ability to mobilize all its forces and the broad people's masses to fulfill them. We are convinced that this will be the case now too. Communists are rising up selflessly and with discipline, enthusiasm, and boldness to head the great struggle to implement the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

USSR AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 19 Mar 86 p 6

[Interview with Soviet Ambassador to Egypt Alexandr Belonogov by Angie Rushdi: "A Comprehensive Interview with the Soviet Ambassador in Cairo: The History of Relations between Our Two Countries Is Full of Good Things and Pleasant Memories"]

[Text] The conversations and meetings which the Soviet ambassador to Egypt is holding are without a doubt a prominent development. Someone observing and monitoring Egyptian-Soviet relations will note that Alexandr Belonogov, the first ambassador for a long time, is seeking to establish relations with the media. On this subject, the ambassador, who spent more than 20 years in the Soviet Foreign Ministry in charge of the management of political planning, says:

"I consider that any ambassador from any country must have strong, developed relations with the media and the newspapers in the country he is working in. I have adhered to this policy since the first moment of my arrival.

"I started gradually to activate my contacts with the Egyptian press. It is true that recently I have doubled this activity. The reason for this is an important event in the life of the Soviet Union, which is the convening of the party's 27th conference. I had wanted to draw the Egyptian media's attention to this event because of its major importance not just for the Soviet people. This process is one of the requirements of the times and Comrade Gorbachev is offering an example to us all. AL-AHRAM has distinguished status with us in Moscow."

Broad Areas for Cooperation

[Question] How then might you describe relations between our countries on all levels?

[Answer] Categorizing the state of bilateral relations is a task that is always characterized by responsibility, especially when talk takes place about relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt. These are relations which have not developed all along the road, or along a road devoid of pitfalls.

In this regard, the Arabic saying "Everything that goes up comes down, and everything that comes down goes up" comes to my mind.

The history of relations between our countries is full of good memories. According to the saying, we must start with what goes up, and the faster we proceed upward, the more we distance ourselves from the distrust and increasing touchiness which weighed down our relations in past years.

Of course it is difficult to rebuild all at once. There are some factors which slow down the rates of development in our relations, but there are the principles which have been, still are and will be a basis for our relations, I mean, mutual respect for one another's sovereignty and interests, nonintervention in domestic affairs and mutual benefit in all areas of our relations. Respect for these principles is the best guarantee of the continuation of the increasing growth and strengthening of relations between our countries.

The ambassador went on to say:

"First, there is broad scope for cooperation between our two countries in the area of foreign policy, on an urgent international policy, and the positions of the Soviet Union and Egypt are among ones which correspond the most and are the closest to one another.

"The example of this which is nearest to hand is the main problem in this period of ours, preventing the threat of nuclear catastrophe, which threatens the world. As the results of the 40th session of the United Nations General Assembly showed, we together object to the process of the arms race and support demilitarization and the use of space for peaceful purposes. We fight neocolonialism and racial discrimination and work to create a new international economic order and provide economic security for all countries.

"Secondly, the bases exist for cooperation in settlement of the Middle East problem, which has been marked by increasing activity and the exchange of views and contacts concerning the issues of our time. Ambassadors have returned and the two embassies' activity has recently been activated. All this proves the development of bilateral relations and is something which inspires optimism.

"What also inspire satisfaction are the parliamentary visits to our two countries, whose goal is to learn about the concerns of our people's lives and to learn about one another. Contacts are gradually being restored on all levels and in all areas and include the signing of a 2-year program for practical and cultural cooperation. Economic negotiations will soon be held in Moscow to solve some difficulties that have accumulated which must be settled on an urgent basis, as well as problems in the area of trade. In summing up, one can say that there is much that we must do for the sake of restoring Soviet-Egyptian relations to their natural course. The important thing is that we work in the direction of construction and out of mutual interests."

[Question] Could you specify what the economic problems and difficulties are?

[Answer] This is a long story and there are things which have piled up over a long period. However, we started negotiations on them last year and a Soviet government delegation visited Egypt. Not all the results were practical, but they gave us an opportunity to understand one another further and better and become aware of some ways which might lead to the settlement of these problems. On 25 March an Egyptian delegation will travel to the second negotiating session, and I would like and hope for us to move them forward and solve some pending problems.

However, I would like to stress that in the course of the year and a half I have lived in Egypt I have observed real progress in our bilateral relations.

[Question] The cause of the economic retrenchment which dominates the world is in the first place the world market, which is reflected on the Soviet Union's role in supporting development in a number of third world countries, on top of the liberation movements. Is it possible to explain this? What is the approach now in the eighties, in the new administration?

[Answer] The party's 27th conference, which concluded its activities recently, stressed the desperate condition of the developing countries, which is the greatest of international problems. However, we do not stop before this situation; we basically offer the developing countries economic aid in the manner the Egyptians are quite familiar with, which is participation in the establishment of major projects. With respect to the magnitude of Soviet economic aid to developing countries, I can stress that that has not declined, in spite of the state of the international market.

The magnitude of aid in 1983 was the equivalent of 1.3 percent of national domestic income. In 1984, it increased to 1.4 percent. The Soviet Union will continue, within the limits of its resources, to offer economic and technical aid to developing countries to support their efforts aimed at carrying out their national development plans and guaranteeing their economic independence. This assertion is apparent in the new formulation of the party's program, which the 27th conference approved.

[Question] Soviet-American relations are important as far as world peace goes, but this does not negate, indeed it asserts, the importance of the Soviet presence in the form of official relations with specific areas, such as the relationship between Moscow and Paris and New Delhi. Gorbachev's visit to France before his meeting with Reagan in Geneva is perhaps an example of that. Proceeding from this premise, is a review of international relations being made, as is apparent with the establishment of relations with the Sultanate of Oman?

[Answer] In spite of the total importance of American-Soviet relations, I do not view the rest of the world from the angle of our relations with the United States. Our policy is equal relations with every country in the world.

The Soviet Union has diplomatic relations with 131 countries. Of course, the degree to which they have evolved differs from one country to another, but

we are ready to establish normal relations with everyone who so wishes, and most sincerely so. This specifically is the way to evaluate the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Sultanate of Oman. With respect to the Emirates, we have had diplomatic relations with them for some time, but what has happened is that we have made a step forward, which is to exchange ambassadors. This means not a review of international relations, but the expansion and development of ties with other peoples, which is our policy in principle.

With respect to the Soviet Union's position on the Palestine cause, in all its aspects and angles, Ambassador Alexandr Belonogov said,

"The Soviet Union affirms today, as was the position yesterday and 10 years ago, the creation of a just, permanent settlement to the old Middle East struggle through collective efforts and within the framework of an international conference. That is the only secure approach. It could have been the shortest way, had it not been for the opposition of circles in Israel and the United States.

"As far as the participants in such a conference go, we are in favor of the participation of all the parties concerned, that is, all the countries which have common borders with Israel, including Egypt. It is necessary to get the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in its capacity as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative, and it is necessary that both the Soviet Union and the United States participate in it, since they are two countries with an important role in Middle East affairs and were chairman of the previous conference on the Middle East. It is possible that other countries in this region and the adjacent regions could be invited to take part in this conference as well.

"In this regard, I would like to concentrate in particular on the need to get the organization to participate on an equal basis. This is very important, because the essence of settlement in the Middle East is the Palestinian problem and unless a nation is established for the Palestinian people and they have the right of self-determination, there will be no just peace, since an unjust peace is that which infringes on any people's national interests.

"There will be no real peace but rather a period of rest between two explosions.

"Concerning this conference and its areas of competence, we consider that its goal should be to solve the following basic issues:

"1. The return of all Arab territories Israel has occupied, I mean, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Lebanese territories.

"2. The right of the Palestinian people to establish their own country, after which it will be possible for them to determine the nature of their relations with adjacent countries, including the possibility of establishing a confederate union.

"I would like to stress that we consider that it is very important to return the occupied eastern portion of the city of Jerusalem to the Arabs. The conference must guarantee the rights of all countries in this region within a secure framework and end the state of war between the Arab countries and Israel.

"Finally, in order for the settlement to be permanent, the suitable international guarantees must be set out during the conference. It is true that there are different interpretations regarding the substance of the international conference, but we are convinced that this conference must be capable of making a settlement, and not be an umbrella or cover for anything else. There is total Arab unanimity on the principles of the settlement, and these are the Fez conference resolutions, which in their points greatly correspond to our recommendations."

The ambassador then moved over to another point and said, "We consider that the restoration of unity to Arab ranks is one of the most urgent of matters and that if the Arab countries had unified their ranks and the Palestinian resistance had not been fragmented, the Middle East issue would have evolved in a different way.

"Rising above the disputes within the Palestine resistance, restoring its unity on a basis of principle and strengthening the Palestinians' resistance with the Arab countries are compatible with their own vital interests and those of all the Arabs.

"For our part, we have ongoing relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization and the other Palestinian organizations, and we have used and still are using our contacts with them to help transcend the disputes that exist among the various forces of the resistance."

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CSO: 4504/243

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

DISCUSSION OF DRA 1986-87 ECONOMIC PLAN

LD131838 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 13 Mar 86

[Text] Kabul 13 March TASS -- The Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan held an extended meeting here to discuss implementation of the DRA's new social and economic development plan for March 1986 - March 1987. Speaking at the meeting S.A. Keshtmand, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA, said that the past Afghan year was marked by progressive social and economic changes in the life of society, changes aimed at broadening and consolidating the social basis of the revolution. A number of measures were taken to democratise the state apparatus and the first stage of local government elections held. Steps are being taken to improve the economy in line with the decisions of the 16th plenum of the PDPA Central Committee and the Revolutionary Council.

Following the April revolution, S.A. Keshtmand said, the country's national income has increased 5.5 percent and gross national product 6.2 percent. Good headway has been made in a number of branches of the national economy as a result of the commissioning of new enterprises and modernisation of old ones. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA made special note of the fact that fraternal assistance from the USSR and other socialist countries contribute considerably to the successful economic development of the republic. He stressed that strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union will continue to be the key-stone of Afghanistan's home and foreign policy.

Speaking of the tasks set for the next year A.S. Keshtmand said that it is necessary to raise the living standards of the Afghan people and the effectiveness of capital investments, to adjust the system of economic planning and to assure a more rational use of material resources. Much attention will be given to increasing industrial output and consistently implementing the land-and-water reform.

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CSO: 1812/96

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

BRIEFS

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY ACCORD WITH INDIA--Delhi, 21 Mar (TASS)--A working program for cooperation between the Soviet Union and India in the field of computer technology and electronics for the years 1986-1990 was signed today in the Indian capital. It provides for the export from the Soviet Union to India of powerful computers and also mutual supplies of various electronic equipment and its components. It is also planned to carry out joint development and to organize production of personal computers for professional and everyday use, including those intended for schools and other educational establishments. The protocol was signed at the end of a session held here of a working group on computer technology and electronics, which operates within the framework of the intergovernmental Soviet-Indian commission on economic, scientific and technical cooperation. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1513 GMT 21 Mar 86 LD] /12712

CSO: 1825/51

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JPRS-UIA-86-018
21 April 1986

USSR REMINDS AFRICA OF ITS SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION STRUGGLE

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian for 15 March 1986 carries on page four a 250-word article by F. Konopikhin under the rubric "Rejoinder" entitled "To the Wrong Address" which criticizes OAU general secretary Idi Umaru's remark that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries seemed to be "standing on the side" in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Konopikhin replies that the Soviet Union has always called for measures against South Africa "in the UN and other international forums" and that the new edition of the Party Program, adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, directly states that "the Party considers as its international duty" the support of people struggling against racism and neocolonialism. The author points out that the Soviet Union also supported the call for sanctions against South Africa and that "the introduction of which [sanctions] is opposed not in Moscow, but in the capitals of the West."

CSO: 1807/228-P

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN LESOTHO COUP SEEN

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 86 p 5

[Article by Igor Tarutin: "The Language of Force," under the rubric "We Reply to a Reader"]

[Text] The coup d'etat in Lesotho has aroused widespread comment in the world press, and once again drawn attention to the situation in southern Africa. Basically, the seizure of power by the army in that country can be explained by internal differences. These differences, however, were considerably aggravated by external factors.

On 1 January of this year, the Republic of South Africa, whose territory surrounds Lesotho on all sides, announced a blockade of that country. This seriously undermined the economy of the small mountain kingdom, since the bulk of its goods traffic flows through South Africa, and tens of thousands of people travel there from Lesotho in search of work. By taking advantage of this, Pretoria deliberately destabilized the situation in Lesotho.

In this way the racists have taken vengeance on Lesotho for its independent internal policies: solidarity with "front-line" governments, and establishment of diplomatic relations with socialist countries. What particularly infuriated the racists was the fact that the Kingdom had spoken out firmly in support of eliminating the brutal system of apartheid, and supported the struggle of South African patriots. Lesotho had not been afraid to offer shelter to refugees from South Africa: this aroused not only hatred, but also direct aggression on the part of Pretoria.

In 1982, the South African army raided Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, and organized border provocations. The racists' secret police organized an attack on the prime minister's residence. The next raid, which resulted in the deaths of several people, took place not that long ago--in December of last year.

South Africa's incessant military, political and economic pressure aggravated the internal conflicts in Lesotho, and deepened its developmental problems. "We can only express outrage at South Africa's savage reprisals against its neighbor, which, essentially, threatened that country simply because it presented an example of political independence," wrote THE NEW YORK TIMES, which also concluded correctly that "the Pretoria government knows only one method of dealing with Africans both internally and beyond its borders--the language of force."

South Africa is trying to frighten Lesotho's leaders, to force them to abandon their progressive course and go begging to Pretoria, which would like to see the Kingdom become one of its bantustans, humble and uncomplaining.

But the racists are encountering resistance to their demands. True, several days ago a group of refugees left Lesotho for Zambia for the sake of their own safety and the security of the Kingdom. Nevertheless, the Chairman of the Military Council, Major General D. Lekhanya, announced that Lesotho will not hand refugees over to the racists, does not see the need for signing a non-aggression pact with South Africa, and will maintain all its established diplomatic ties. The statement met with yet another flood of threats from Pretoria.

To weaken and destabilize neighboring states, and to undermine their unity has long been the aim of this racist regime. The events in Lesotho demonstrate once again that South Africa continues to follow its criminal course, violating the norms of international law in the process.

13206/7051

CSO: 1807/180

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ZIMBABWE'S ECONOMIC, POLITICAL POLICIES PRAISED

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by V. Korochantsev and A. Osipov]

[Text] The Eastern Plateau between Harare and Mutare presents an exceptionally animated picture: at times it seems to breathe. In the midst of the veldt (that is what the savanna in Zimbabwe is called), from among thickets of elephant grass, or in the middle of endless yellow fields of corn, "balancing rocks" --colossal boulders miraculously clinging to small stone bases--suddenly sprout, as if from beneath the earth.

We were given a warm welcome in the village of Marange, near Mutare. We happened to arrive there on a holiday. The local inhabitants were merrily honoring outstanding peasants--members of the cooperative who had achieved excellent results in their work.

The cooperative in Marange is just over three years old. The government helped the peasants with its organization and management, and supplied them with seed, fertilizer and equipment. Almost all of the peasants underwent week-long courses in farming. And the results are evident: the farm brings in a profit.

The government of Zimbabwe has already settled 31,071 families in an area over 2.1 million hectares in size, and paid out around \$76 million in compensation to former local and foreign owners. Schools and hospitals are being built for the settlers, who are also being trained in proper management methods. In spite of the drought gripping the country, the new settlers have produced abundant harvests of corn, cotton and tobacco thanks to collective labour.

The West is noticeably alarmed by the organization of agriculture into cooperatives in Zimbabwe, and by the success of these cooperatives. As a result, desperate and vain attempts are being made to discredit the cooperative idea, and to prevent Zimbabwe from solving its agrarian problems.

"Before, the peasants were so poisoned with lies about socialism," said Nathan Shamuyarira, member of the Politburo of ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front), and Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, "that they didn't even want to hear about cooperatives. They had been led to believe that in cooperatives they would have half of all they produced

taken from them, that they would be forced to divide everything in half, including their wives. Now that they have been convinced of the advantages of modern cooperative labour, the peasants can't wait to get into cooperatives. They are rushing the government to build them, but the Republic still does not have enough resources to fill all the applications that are coming in."

Around Harare, the food-producing fields of 30 such farms are currently under cultivation. The authorities have divided up 6,000 hectares of government land for them. All in all there are 3,000 cooperatives in the country, hundreds of which are of the production type. In one year they produce almost 15 times more produce than before independence. The government has allotted these cooperatives 265 tractors (initially free of charge), seed and specialists, and helped them build 400 warehouses.

The peasants have responded to the government's efforts with work. In three years, in spite of the most severe droughts, the value of gross agricultural production rose from 465 million Zimbabwe dollars to one billion this year. One half of that amount was contributed by cooperatives and individual farms run by Africans, the rest--by European plantations. Prior to independence, the proportion contributed by Africans was only 8 percent.

In a strategic move, the ruling ZANU-PF Party and the government have proclaimed the progressive development of Zimbabwean society towards socialism. "In accordance with the resolutions of the II ZANU-PF Congress, our socialist philosophy will prove itself even further in practice as the state, workers and peasants increase their participation in the various branches of production, commercial enterprise, and in the entire socio-economic system," said Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President and First Secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), and Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe. "But as we emphasized earlier, the path towards socialism will always lie through education, practice and persuasion, not through force and coercion."

Relations with socialist states are correctly considered here as one of the factors strengthening national independence. The ties of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Zimbabwe are getting stronger and broader. Diplomatic ties between our two countries were established on 18 February 1981. Since that time, a series of agreements, including agreements on commercial, cultural and scientific collaboration, have been signed. Young Zimbabweans are studying at Soviet universities. The expanding ties between the CPSU and ZANU-PF are regarded very highly here.

The West and its racist allies, in pursuing their expansionist intentions, are increasing tensions in southern Africa. But the people of Zimbabwe value their freedom and are prepared to selflessly defend their right to independent development, peace and security.

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CSO: 1807/180

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

GHANAIAN TRADE UNIONS DELEGATION VISITS

PM251527 Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Mar 86 p 3

[Unattributed report: "End of Friendly Visit"]

[Text] The official friendly visit to the USSR at the AUCCTU's invitation by a delegation of the leadership of the Ghanaian Trade Unions Congress, headed by (O. Yanki), general secretary of that trade union organization, has ended.

Talks took place at the AUCCTU between the Ghanaian Trade Unions Congress delegation and a Soviet trade unions delegation headed by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev.

In the course of the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, the participants briefed each other on the main avenues of the activity of the trade unions of the USSR and Ghana and discussed topical problems of the present day and of the international trade union movement and questions of the further development of Soviet-Ghanaian trade union relations.

Expressing satisfaction with the level of development which Soviet-Ghanaian trade union relations have reached, the sides came out in favor of further strengthening them. On the basis of the results of the talks, a long-term agreement was signed on the fundamentals of the development of friendly ties and cooperation between the AUCCTU and the Ghanaian Trade Unions Congress. Also taking part in the talks, on the Soviet side, were AUCCTU Secretary A. M. Subbotin and V. Ye. Mozhayev, chief of the AUCCTU international section.

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CSO: 1825/52

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JPRS-UIA-86-018
21 April 1986

BRIEFS

AFL-CIO TIES WITH AFRICA--Addis Ababa--Washington's principal tool for spreading American influence within the African labour movement is the AFL-CIO. Its basic aim is to draw trade union activists in the African continent over to the West's side in the confrontation with world socialism, with little regard for improving the living conditions of workers. This is the conclusion drawn by the journal AFRICA BUSINESS from an analysis of documents relating to the activities of the so-called African-American Labour Center (AALC). The AALC was formally established in 1964 by the leaders of the AFL-CIO in order to assist in the training of African trade union personnel. The Center became an instrument of American foreign policy very soon after. Even then it defined its task as "the promotion of cooperation between workers and entrepreneurs for the purpose of expanding American investments in African countries." Ties between the AALC and the CIA quickly surfaced. During the last two years the US government has drastically escalated its interference in the trade union movement in Africa under the cover of the AALC and its "training" and "education" program for trade union personnel. The journal notes that 90 percent of grants to the Center come from the US government. The AALC conducts its work under the slogan of "trade union democracy." In fact, methods used by the AALC include attempts at direct bribery of trade union activists, and support of turncoats acting against the progressive regimes of their countries from outside. [By A. Serbin] [Text] [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb p 5] 13206/7051

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